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## DR. CHEEVER UPON NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

The Rev. Dr. Cheever, of this city, preached in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, on Sunday, the 8th inst. He was listened to by a very large congregation, including many members of Congress.

The Washington *Evening Express* reports the discourse at length. We extract the following in relation to national affairs:

After reviewing at some length the history and character of Jonah and the power of his preaching, Dr. Cheever said the whole history showed the impossibility of escaping from duty and from God, and the folly of delaying, till it becomes compulsion from the Almighty, whatever measure is demanded by justice and righteousness. Jonah had been brought through a living death to teach him that he must obey the behests of the Almighty and do his duty. Duty is a hard master if the soul be unwilling, but the inspirator of duty in heart and will, thorough, fervent, and decisive, makes angels for the time both of men and nations.

We want such decision now in this country, for we are tempted to a moral and financial repudiation of duty on pretence of expediency. Sound minds, a great philosopher and poet has said, find their expediency in principles; unsound, their principles in expediency. On the proportion of these minds to each other the issue depends. From calculations of partial expediency in opposition to general principles, whether those calculations be governed by fear or presumption, nothing but mischief is to be looked for. Man's proper support should be in standing by a great principle, assured that expediency will come out of fidelity to principle, while principles of action are not to be found in calculations of expediency. The perfection of an offering of obedience and justice is the right thing in the right place; because *it is* right, and God requires it. Out of time is almost as bad as out of joint, and may be worse. The performance of a great duty in its season may create agitation, but the shirking of it makes greater. This was evident from the history of Jonah, for God used the monsters of the deep as agents to compel him to the performance of his duty.

Our country has been passing through a tempest of the divine discipline because we neglected justice and would not execute it at God's command. We needed the tempest and the ministry of wrath to quicken us, and we have found that where principle and duty are clear it is not wise to wait for the ultimate necessity. We trust that by God's great mercy our country shall be carried safely through, and established in the strength of public justice on eternal principle. The world has seen how God has abolished slavery from us when we would not do it for ourselves, and preserved us from the destruction of a civil war by which He destroyed slavery. But God will also have us work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, because it is He that worketh in us.

And if we thus determine to work out our own salvation the world shall now see how we can be carried through the next great impending tragedy; and how, as a nation, we can vindicate the majesty of the law in its power upon the highest as well as the lowest, without respect to persons, so that a measure of justice, impossible in other governments without a revolution, shall only strengthen ours as being in the highest, most august, and magnificent orbit of law. And if, as a nation, having been brought purified out of these crucibles of national trial, we also resist attempted repudiation, and by the grace of God preserve our public integrity and pay our public debts unfalteringly, then how immeasurably will all the foundations of our Republic be strengthened.

There is needed the example to the world of such a stern and honest national conscience. It is needed among ourselves for the security of private and commercial integrity; for what a blow would be given to that. Any man may see, if as a nation we evade the fulfillment of contracts made to save us from impending ruin, taking the ground that as a whole people in our recovered prosperity we have the right, because the power, to repudiate the promises made in our adversity to those who to save us were made God's free-men, and those who having been in God's providence invested with riches for such a crisis, became the pecuniary bondsmen of the government.

A fraudful legislation toward both these classes is proposed because of a political reaction among the people, the clamor of which, the reverberation of a few partisan voices or presses may at any time produce. It is thus that we are threatened again with the sacrifice of the rights of God's adopted and our admitted citizens, which we had promised God to pay, but now hesitate for color on the pretence that the people will not bear it. The injustice goes deep, the immorality itself is reactive and retributive. If ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own? If we violate our promises to the poor, because of a reaction against their color, we shall also to the rich because of a reaction against their bonds.

No class is safe from the vagaries of legislation by popular prejudice, or which prescribes unrighteous decrees to take away the rights from the poor among God's people. Now mark at least the financial integrity of Jonah. When he fled from the presence of the Lord he paid the fare of the ship beforehand. This is more than most fugitives from duty do. And when the consequences of his fight from God and duty were upon him he desired to bear them all himself, and spare the innocent. He made vows to God, and after his deliverance he remembered these vows and fulfilled them. Let it be seen that a nation as well as a prophet can fulfil in prosperity the vows it made in affliction.

Dr. Cheever then proceeded to notice at length the effect of Jonah's preaching upon Ninevah, and to expound his text as it related to the religion of Christ, arguing the necessity of a faithful and exact performance of duty in every sphere of life, regardless of every question of expediency. In this connection the preacher made another application to national affairs, in describing the nature of the Redeemer's coming kingdom on earth, as a particular, providential government of nations as well as individuals. One grand characteristic of it in prophecy is its breaking in pieces of the oppressor, and its delivery and protecting the children of the needy. He is thus coming to judge the world in righteousness, and the nation that will not obey him shall perish. He has begun his work of emancipating and breaking in pieces, and the predictions assure its completion, and if we refuse our co-operation, he will have our obedience or our breaking up. The speciality of the wrath of God against those who set themselves in opposition to this glorious principle of obedience to the Redeemer's kingdom and law of love of justice, without respect to persons, is something wonderful. No man prospers who undertakes the reconstruction of the old iniquity. God will not have a remnant of it left. The fulfilment of prophecy in perfection depends on this sign of the reality of the government of Christ as the judge of the world in righteousness. I do not mean that all shall be saints, but all shall have equal opportunity to become such, and especially it shall not be a sainthip merely skin deep, but justice shall be administered for all and protection of the lowly without respect of persons. Here again events call us back to faith. Our affairs cannot much longer be managed by a selfish expediency, in the interest of caste or race, or oppressive aristocracy. The interposition of the Redeemer of the poor and needy in our affairs, above any other nation, show him coming so near to us in the fulfilment of prophecies, that if we don't regard him he will strike through our life for his purpose. He makes us know and feel how impossible it is for men to alter or hinder the progress of events one second from the mark and station determined in God's time-table.

Men struggle for years, for ages, to prevent junctures of which they dread the coming, and think they have succeeded, when the very next twenty-four hours shall uncoil them from the springs of causes that lay hidden to the very last moment. We especially seem to be in God's hand for a mighty work of his will on earth that just begins to be developed. Other nations might afford, to diregard him better than we, and continue to play the game of national atheism, but by the very framework of the government he has given, and the multitude of usurping devils cast out for the entrance of the Son of God in Glory, we are bound to give him speedy welcome and enthronement, and to take his word and spirit for our guide, or the dispossession of our chambers will be followed by the indwelling of seven other devils more oppressive than before. A white man's government, and the consecration of millions whom the Son of God has emancipated, to the misery of caste, and outcast degradation by color, would be the enthronement of satanic pride, cruelty and ambition in his stead. If it be attempted, he will shake again these western heavens and this earth, at whatever expense, till this iniquity be shaken from its foundations.

At this point some one in the audience pronounced, in a loud voice, the word "Amen," and the quiet was for a second disturbed.

Dr. Cheever, resuming, said: "We have reason to believe that a slaveholding despotism itself would not now be a greater abomination in the sight of God, than that of a white man's government in a nation professing to be Christian."

The learned preacher then continued at some length, speaking upon the religious aspect of the text, and viewing the significance of Jonah as a warning sign, but making no further allusion to national politics.

## THE POLITICAL FUTURE.

LECTURE BY ANNA E. DICKINSON.

Miss Dickinson delivered her lecture, "Breakers Ahead," in Rochester, N. Y., on the 11th inst. The Rochester *Evening Express*, from which we copy the following outline report, says: "The lecture was radically right, and one of her best efforts."

The Republican party was born of a protest of the national conscience against injustice, and it cannot escape the destiny that its birth implies. For such a party to retreat, is to die; to stand still is to await disintegration; but by pressing steadily forward it will live. A party founded on true principles will triumph so long as it is faithful to them, and die when it deserts them. It is not enough for this party to say that it carried on a great war and saved the Republic. It cannot live by its past good deeds. It must show itself equal to present emergencies or it will die. The other day a Republican Convention met in the great State of Ohio, and resolved simply this—that the platform of the party and its guarantees for the future are to be found in the history of the country during the last seven years. But the party cannot maintain its predominance because it has been successful. There is work to be done, danger to meet, and difficulties to overcome. Is this great party aware of this? Upon the answer of this question depends not only its future, but that of the country. To-day the desire North and South is for peace and quiet. After four years of strife men are inclined to cease conflict and labor for harmony. It is just here that the will and honesty of the country will be most tried. While the main work was destruction, there was no lack of interest or energy. The people are always ready for the rough but speedy and plain work of clearing away false systems; but when it comes to rearing new, this requires patience and waiting. It is now that our time of hardest trial comes. It is in the breaking up of a system, as of a disease that its strength is most manifest. This devil of tyranny in going out from us has not left us without great gapes of wounds to be healed. What is the condition South of the line to-day? The disorganization of society has followed a long period of servitude and misrule. Ignorance, so long enforced by law, will remain at least to curse one generation. Idleness created by a theory makes labor dishonorable. Poverty springing from idleness, crime and misery springing from both. Such a state of affairs in a monarchy would puzzle the wisest statesmen to harmonize. But the fact of our free institutions simplifies all our difficulties. They only need that we shall be true to the principles we have adopted, and all our troubles will be removed. Liberty is ever working new miracles. We are always distrusting her, and she requites our distrust with benefits. The idea of our political theory—equal justice to all men—is the great healer.

It is one of the marvels of the age that the defeated rebels of the South still retain so much of their old prestige. Stripped of property, and in many cases citizenship, they are yet the aristocrats of their section. Robert Lee is President of the great Southern University, and even Jefferson Davis has not fallen so far into contempt that a Northern General will not regard it an honor to ride with him through the streets of New Orleans. These men, instead of being suppliants for mercy, are still in a condition not only to urge their right to franchises long since violated, but to demand the disfranchisement of the negro. These States should never be admitted to resume their old political power in the Union, until their rebels had been bound securely and made powerless. (Applause.) How is this to be done? There are those who would say, it should be by confiscation of property and general disfranchisement; but if that policy had ever been wise and best, the day for it had passed. The South must be harmonized by enfranchising and enlightening its loyal population, and the nation must be secured by binding these so closely to the great Republican party, that they cannot be separated, and so present an unbroken front for freedom. At the North, the Republican party, through lack of devotion to its principles, is falling in pieces. In California one man controlled the party to a nomination so corrupt, that the people in self-respect refused to sanction it. In New York corruption became so flagrant, that decent men felt that any change would be for the the better, and stayed at home or voted under protest. In Massachusetts, the great falling off in Republican majorities only proved that a good many thousand Democrats and a few thousand Republicans had become very dry from a fifteen years abstinence, and they were determined to abstain no longer. And so of other States. We want a strong, united and dominant party in the Southern States, on a platform of equal justice and liberty, and led by a leader who is known to be true—a party so strong that no winds that blow or storms that beat can destroy it. A larger portion of the Northern people are learning to believe what Mr. Seward told the Illinois delegation on on the 4th of March, 1861: "I assure you that the battle has been fought and the victory for freedom has been won. Henceforth, forget that liberty has ever been in danger, and devote yourselves solely to saving the Republic." We forget that "eternal vigilance" is no less the price of liberty than it ever was.

While the North is learning this security, it is all the more necessary that the Southern vote should be permanently secured to make it real. Many think this has already been done; they say that the negroes are certain to vote for the party which emancipated and enfranchised them, and they point to elections already held for proof. I realize fully all that this party has done, that it has each year taken higher and higher ground, and in meeting the new issues as they have arisen, it has achieved its success. But it is forward and not backward that this party must look. It cannot expect to succeed forever on what it has already done. Courage and not cowardice must be its motto, if it would continue successful. It has today the golden opportunity of making the issue so clear that no artifice of rebels, no ignorance of negroes, shall ever swerve this race from its support. If it plants itself on the doctrine of equal justice to men everywhere—there is no mistaking that. The negroes are ignorant from long servitude, and the present generation must, to a great extent, remain in ignorance. It is said that prisoners immured for years in dark dungeons, are blinded and staggered by the light, and it would not be strange if the Southern negroes should be cajoled into support of their white neighbors. New issues will arise, and unless the Republican party makes a clear record, not only at the South, but at the North, its motives and character are liable to be misunderstood. De Tocqueville says that a proposition to meet popular assent must be clearly and plainly stated, and that a false proposition plainly made is more likely to be received than a truth involved in obscurity. I grant that parties in adopting new ideas and policies, are justified in moving cautiously and with deliberation; but this is no new idea. It is only the logical result of the principles of justice on which the party is based that we ask it to accept. Not to do this is to confess the party a failure. Yet within the past hundred days we have heard Conservatism parading the Republican defeats last Fall as the result of a reaction against the principles of justice. "The party cannot carry such a load," it says, and points to New York, California, and Ohio for proof. Conservatism asserts that cowardice alone can save the Republican party. Let it make a platform that means nothing, and nominate on it a candidate of doubtful character, and elect him to the White House. What then? Is the Republican party organized solely for success? Is it its highest aim to elect men to office? It elected Andrew Johnson four years ago, and what good has he done it or the country? Does it want to repeat that experiment? When the Republican party cannot live by its own principles, it had better die. It has in all its history only been successful when it has steadily gone forward. Five years ago, in 1862, the elections went more heavily against the Republican party than now. The cry was raised that the people had repudiated the emancipation policy which had been proposed. Suppose the clear head and warm heart of the man at the head of the government had listened to this cry and gone backward and reversed the emancipation policy. We can see now in the light of five years that such a course would have been most disastrous, and could only have resulted in a triumph of the rebellion, or, at the best, in a half triumph of the government. Instead of heeding the demand for a reverse of policy, after the political defeats of a few weeks before and amid military gloom and disaster, on the 1st of January, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. From that day the tide of victory turned, and two years after the rebellion was destroyed. We established justice and God gave us victory. A few days ago Congress took a bold stand against the usurpations and misgovernment of Andrew Johnson and impeached him. What has been the result? All through the last few months we have had political defeats that have been claimed as popular reactions against too strong measures. What has followed the impeachment of Andrew Johnson? Have there been more reaction and new Republican defeats? The increased Republican majorities in New Hampshire thunder the popular approval in a way not to be mistaken. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Miss Dickinson spoke eloquently against the nomination of non-commital candidates on a meaningless platform advocated by all Conservative Republican journals and by some called Radical. The idea of such journals was to get behind Gen. Grant, and in the shadow of his popularity reach the White House and control the nation four years longer. But of what advantage is this if Republican principles are to be ignored? Gen. Grant will be President by Republican votes, but so is Andrew Johnson now. Is it any security that Grant is a soldier—"that he cannot desert the cause for which he fought?" We have other soldiers. McClellan was a soldier. So was Fitz John Porter, so was that General who rode through the streets of New Orleans a few days ago with Jefferson Davis, Gen. Hancock, the tool of Andrew Johnson. He is a soldier. The people will demand something more. A. T. Stewart and the two hundred moneyed men of New York who acted as Vice-Presidents for his meeting, are for Grant. They want a platform, saying nothing, because they do not care for principle, but only for money. The nomination of Grant on such a platform would be an outrage on the memories of three hundred thousand soldiers, as brave as he, who rest in their graves. Such a nomination might secure temporary success, but it would destroy the party. Experience had shown that whenever the Republican party was true to itself it had succeeded. So long as Connecticut Republicans stood by their principles they were victorious in every election. A year and a half ago, Senator Creswell, and other Republicans of Maryland, dared not incur the odium of negro suffrage. At the next election they were beaten, and have been beaten ever since, exactly as they deserve to be for their infidelity to their principles. There is a legend that a man once watched a thousand years before the gates of Paradise to see its glories, and at the end of the thousand years he was overtaken with weariness, and slept one hour, waking only to see the pearly gates just as they were closing against him. The Republican party has watched and labored for seven years, and now when it might make its supremacy perpetual, it undoes the work of years and misses the victory just within its grasp.

The Southern politicians, defeated in rebellion, are now trying to gain political power by influencing their former slaves. Gov. Orr recently made a speech telling the negroes that the Southern whites were their friends, and the Northern Republicans only cared to use them to perpetuate their power. Does this seem too incredible to impose on any one? We must remember that the Southern slaves are ignorant and easily imposed upon. Besides, what shall the negro think when he sees that he is enfranchised in the South, where his vote is needed, but if he comes North he is disfranchised and degraded? Will it not seem as though the story of the rebel politicians is true? Beside, all the motives of interest impel him to vote with his white neighbors. They are educated, and strong, and can help him. If he votes with them he secures work and powerful friendship. If he votes for the Republican party he may be compelled to sacrifice these. Nothing will save the negro vote to the Republican party but to make its principles those of equal and exact justice. Think not that I am interested in the success of any particular party. What are parties to a woman, classed in political privileges with paupers, idiots and criminals? My only interest is in having the cause of Justice prevail. I also respect the Republican party for the good it has done, and also because it contains many of the purest and noblest men in American political life.

To show what the negroes of the South had already sacrificed for the party which emancipated them, Miss Dickinson said that all over the South they had been shamefully misused, turned out of employment for voting the Republican ticket, and in Tennessee alone not less than five hundred are known to have been murdered.

Three years ago I stood in the National Capitol and saw the serried columns and regiments and companies marching through the streets on their way home. There were men from the North, South, East and West, with knapsacks and muskets, but I looked in vain for the negroes. I saw a few marching with spades in their hands, but no soldiers, though I know that they had fought on many a battle-field. But as I gazed on this army of soldiers, I saw, in the clouds above it, another army—the great army of martyrs, hovering above their comrades. The serried ranks in the army below were all filled in the army of martyrs above. The two made one grand perfect army. There were negroes in the army above—no prejudice barred them there, and they looked with earnest gaze for their comrades left behind. I thought then that the picture was a faithful representation of the great reality.

Northern men—who liked a few years ago to see the negro's back as he marched off with his musket to the front in your stead, but are ashamed to look him in the face when he comes back and demands the ballot—let me tell you a short story. A white officer lay gashed and desperately wounded in the trenches of Fort Wagner, and by his side a negro—both dying. The white officer was one of the noblest of Northern young men who fell, and as his life slowly ebbed away he turned to his sable comrade by his side, and with a smile, asked, "Was it worth all this?" "Oh," gasped the dying man, "Thank God for the blessed privilege." The blessed privilege soon came, for it was death. For what did this black man die? He came from Ohio, where his comrades are outraged, degraded and spit upon by the meanest whites. You who say that the negro has gained enough by securing his liberty, tell me what this man gained for his comrades in Ohio, fighting for seven dollars a month?

In that battle of Fort Wagner fell one of the best beloved of Northern youth, Col. Robert G. Shaw. The voice of the North cried forth, "Give me back my dead!" But there was no response. He fell leading his troops, who fell on all sides of him. Into one deep, wide trench they hurled the bodies of all unknown negroes, above and around this beloved son so widely mourned. Then came back from the South the exultant and defiant answer, "You want your dead, but you shall never have him; we have buried him with his niggers."

It is better so. And since the decree was irrevocable and the dust of white and black must evermore commingle in that Southern grave, let us accept the omen and see to it that as white and black stood together in the front, fought together, suffered together, died together in rebel prison pen and hospital, and as they now lie buried together, so may no man ever dare to attempt to separate their destinies. In that glorious political future for which they died and which shall rise from their ashes, there shall be neither white nor black, but a common manhood for all. So shall we have again the verification of the scripture, "It is sown in corruption; it shall be raised in incorruption. It is sown in dishonor; it shall be raised in glory. It is sown in weakness; it shall be raised in power."

## THE CHIEF-JUSTICE.

From the Washington (Copperhead) Constitutional Union.

The New York *Sun* has its attention drawn to the fact that the name of the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States is mentioned in conection with the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, and proceeds to show that, with the single exception of the slavery question, *now a dead issue*, he has always been a Democrat, acting with the party and advocating its principles. The suggestion is not without force.

The Democratic party is devoted to principles—not to any particular man. If Mr. Chase correctly represents the principles—if he can command the confidence of the party—if, in a word, by his record and his patriotic conduct, especially in the great impeachment trial, wherein so much is depending upon his integrity and judgment, he should prove himself worthy to lead the great Democratic and Conservative host, under the Democratic banner, *why may he not be the candidate?*

Stranger things have happened before, and in these times PATRIOTISM INVOKES A SAVIOUR.

The Democratic party is the party of progress, yet always adhering to the time-honored past, with its principles as drawn from the Constitution itself.

No man living is so happily situated as Salmon P. Chase, under existing circumstances, to achieve for himself historical renown by substantiating the peace of the country and securing the happiness of the People. No other man in America has the power and influence to prevent the threatening calamities impending over the country, thereby winning for himself *true renown as a statesman and the gratitude of the entire* People.

## THE COLORED PUPILS IN THE HARTFORD SCHOOLS.

From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, March 11.

Considerable trouble has sprung up of late in regard to the attendance of colored scholars at the regular district schools, instead of at the school on Pearl street. The colored people, many of them, object to sending their children to the latter school both on account of distance and of the superior character of the instruction given at the distrct schools. They have, therefore, for some time past, been in the habit of sending their children to the public schools in their own districts, and they have received the same instruction as white children. In only one of the districts has any objection been made to this course by those in authority. In the second north district, however, Mr. George D. Jewett, Chairman of the School Committee, has lately instructed the teachers to advise the colored children to take their books and go home, and not to come to school any more. In case, however, they should persist in coming to the school, the teachers were instructed by Mr. Jewett not to teach them, but to allow them to sit in the school-room, without any instruction whatever. The Rev. M. L. Scudder, acting School Visitor, however, by the authority of the Board of School Visitors, instructed the teachers to teach the colored children, the same as others. In this conflict of authority the prospect is that the case will be tested legally by the colored people, by a suit against the School Committee.

## NULLIFICATION OF ALIEN AND COLOR LAWS.

In the House of Representatives on Wednesday, the 18th inst., Mr Broomall (Rep., Penn.) moved to reconsider the vote referring to the Judiciary Committee a bill introduced by him July 11, 1867, to guarantee to the several States of the Union a republican form of government. The bill is as follows:

*Whereas*, the form of government of several of the States of the Union is not republican in this particular, that, by the Constitution and laws of such States, political rights are made to depend upon parentage and race, and are united in certain families to the exclusion of others, equally loyal citizens of the United States; and

*Whereas*, It is the constitutional duty of the United States to guarantee to every State a republican form of government.

*Therefore be it enacted*, &c., That all provisions and enactments in State Constitutions and laws, which make distinctions in political or civil rights among citizens of the United States, or deny such rights to any such citizens, on account of parentage, race, lineage, or color, are, and are hereby declared to be, void, and of no effect.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person shall prevent any qualified citizen of the United States from exercising the right of suffrage at any election in any State under the pretence that such citizen is disqualified by the Constitution and laws of such State on account of his parentage, race, lineage, or color, such person shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof in the proper court shall be sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, and to undergo imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both at the discretion of the court.

Mr. Broomall addressed the House in support of the bill.

Mr. Woodward (Dem., Penn.) asked whether Pennsylvania has a Republican form of government?

Mr. Broomall replied that in respect of hereditary disfranchisement Pennsylvania has not had a republican form of government since 1858.

Mr. Woodward asked whether his colleague was so ill-read in the law reports of his own State as not to know that the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania had decided that, under the Constitution of 1790, the word "freeman" meant *white freeman*, and that the introduction of the word "white" into the Constitution of 1837 did not alter, in effect, the Constitution a particle.

Mr. Broomall replied that his colleague very well knew the history of the transaction, and that the case cited was a concocted case, and that the Judges made the decision in the hope of saving their places.

Mr. Woodward proclaimed that there is not in the Constitution, laws, or judicial judgments of Pennsylvania the shadow of a foundation for the sentiment of his colleague with respect to Negro Suffrage—the right of suffrage being, by the common consent of all American history, one of the reserved rights of the States.

Mr. Kelley (Rep., Penn.) reminded his colleague that the contemporaneous construction of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790, and all subsequent action under it, recognized the freeman's right to vote, irrespective of color, and that colored men had voted there.

Mr. Broomall confirmed that assertion, and added that up to 1838, no person entertained any more doubt about the right of men of all races to vote in Pennsylvania, with the necessary other qualifications, than the people of the United States had doubted up to the date of the Dred Scott decision, that a negro had rights which white men were bound to respect.

Mr. Boyer (Dem., Penn.) asked his colleague whether the people of Pennsylvania had not ratified the Constitution of 1837, with the word "white" inserted in it?

Mr. Broomall admitted that they had, but suggested that one reason for their doing so was to get rid of those atrocious Judges who had made the decision, and he was proud to say that he had voted against that Constitution—the first vote that he ever cast—his objection being that it disfranchised native Pennsylvanians. In answer to his colleague's (Woodward) question as to what remedy he would suggest, he proposed, he said, to legislate out of the Constitution of all States that contained them those anti-republican provisions. He added, that he had recently been consulted by colored men from Virginia, their query being whether they should put into the Constitution of that State a provision limiting suffrage to persons who could read and write, they representing that for every colored man whom it would exclude in the course of a few years, it would exclude five Democrats; but he had advised against it. If he were to disfranchise anybody he would begin at the top of the heap, and disfranchise first the man who is able to take care of himself. In reply to a remark by Mr. Eldridge, Mr. Broomall said that he was not a party to the rivalry between the Democrats and the negroes. He did not care which whipped. He wanted to see each side have fair play, and if the negro should get so far above the Democrats that the negroes could read and write, while the Democrats could not, he would not on that account disfranchise the Democrats. (Laughter.)

Mr. Lawrence (Rep., Penn.) said, substantially, that nine out of ten Republicans in Western Pennsylvania disbelieve in Negro Suffrage.

Mr. Schofield (Rep., Penn.) held that his colleague (Lawrence) had no right to make such a declaration. He was mistaken in applying it to the lawyers of the XIXth District.

Mr. Lawrence would not bandy words about lawyers, but he would say what he had said for the common-sense men of Pennsylvania. (Laughter.)

Mr. Schofield intimated that only political partisans concurred in the sentiment, who had come over from the Democratic party.

Mr. Kelley (Rep., Penn.) asked his colleague (Woodward) whether Virginia did not accept the Constitution of the United States on the express understanding that the primary right to regulate the suffrage of electors for the more numerous branch of Congress was subject to the supervision of Congress.

Mr. Woodward was not informed of any such proposition. He only knew that from the very foundation of the government, suffrage had been treated as a State affair.

Mr. Schenck (Rep., Ohio) expressed his surprise at the position of the Democratic party on this question of negro suffrage. Those gentlemen of the Democratic party, he said, admit that representation ought to be founded on population, do they not? Whenever they make that admission they admit that they recognize the negro as a man to be counted and considered and to be taken in the enumeration on which members of Congress are appointed. The State of Maryland has adopted by a Constitution made by Democrats, secessionists, and rebels, the doctrine that representation in her Legislature must be founded on the number of population in the several counties of the State. If the Democrats will count the negro; will consider him one of the integral parts of the population of the country, what does it amount to? It amounts to their virtually giving the benefit of suffrage to the negro. It amounts to their considering him one to be counted when the number of Representatives is to be returned. What, then, is the difference between them and those who hold opinions in favor of negro suffrage? It is simply this The Democrats are for having the negro enjoy virtually, all the benefits of the suffrage, but they want some white man as a proxy, not selected or appointed by him. We, on the other hand, claim that if you give the negro suffrage, he ought to vote himself. That, I undertake to say, is the only difference between those men who howl about negro suffrage and the rest of the people of the country who entertain the opinion that the negro is not entitled to suffrage. I want, therefore, to see an end of that howl, and I want to see those gentlemen come candidly, boldly, before the country, and admit that they are virtually in favor of negro suffrage: admit that they are in favor of counting the negro; admit that they recognize him as one of the integral parts of the population to be represented and not to be governed only. Do they want somebody not appointed by the negro to act as his proxy, because they do not dare to lodge in the man himself the right to exercise his privilege of the ballot?

SPEECH BY THE HON. THADDEUS STEVENS.

Mr. Stevens (Rep., Penn.), rising at the clerk's desk, said: This, Mr. Speaker, is a grave question of argument. It is not a question for demagogues. The world is going on in its progress of human government, and is every day advancing in the great science which is to make man happy, or make him miserable. We are either to relapse into a state of barbarism where that infamous doctrine that one man can own another is to be re-established, or we are to establish that doctrine where every man governs himself and has rights that are inalienable, and among these inalienable rights is the right of universal suffrage, which no man shall dare, after this generation shall have passed away, to dispute. We are not now merely expounding a government—we are correcting the injustice, the errors, the fallacies which were heaped on other times by necessity. From the dark ages up, mankind has been ground down by despots, who could not control the people, and were unable to form governments such as ought to control them. Europe, Asia, and every other country in the world, until the last century were bound in chains which they could not break—in chains and withes which they could not snap. But a period arrived when the Almighty God, the Governor of the Universe, placed within the power of our fathers both the knowledge and finally the power to break those chains and give to the world an opportunity, if it would, to be free. When the dawn of the Revolution came, it broke upon this world as a new, mighty, and glorious reformation. That which never before had opened the eyes of mankind, and given a clear insight into the rights of the human race, opened the eyes of our great and glorious fathers, and taught them precisely what we have to carry out, and what when we have carried it out will make tyrants everywhere tremble. Then demagogues who talk to us about the difference of races will be ashamed, and will skulk away from the face of man. What was the great right which they discovered? It was that "all men were born equal;" that the black man who brushes my colleague's; (Woodward) boots is just as much entitled to every privilege as my learned friend or myself. Whoever undertakes to make a distinction between the colored man and ourselves because of the color of his skin, or the formation of his body, has forgotten his God, and his God will forget him. In other words, you must go back now to universal and impartial suffrage as the only foundation on which the government can stand. You must build all your science of government on that, and when you attempt to depart from it you forget that you are a man; that you become a tyrant, and you deserve the execration of the human race. There is no other way but by universal suffrage in which you and I and every man can protect ourselves against the injustice, the inhumanity and the wrongs which would otherwise be inflicted upon us. We have got to a point in this nation when we can adopt that great and glorious principle, and no man dares say that we shall not adopt it. My efforts shall be to prove to this House, not simply that we have reached that point, but that we have reached it by means of the Constitution, which we have not violated, although our fathers, who would have adopted the principle and who proclaimed it, could not adopt it without violating the Contract which they themselves had made, and without destroying the great government which they were then building up. I trust, therefore, that I shall be understood when I say that my doctrine now is that we have reached that period which our fathers did not reach, could not reach. I differ slightly with my respected colleague from Philadelphia (Mr. Kelley), on that ground. We have reached a period when we may speak of universal suffrage, not as a boon, not as a gift, but as an inalienable right which no man dares take away and which no man can surrender. His God has forbidden; the science of government has forbidden it; and henceforth let us understand that universal suffrage, operating in favor of every man who is to be governed by the votes cast, is one of those doctrines planted deeper than the granite on which our fathers laid the foundation of their immortal work—the work of universal liberty; which will last just as long as that immortal doctrine shall last and no longer. I must be excused for the imperfect way in which I have said what I have, and in order to prove what I have already announced as propositions, I will ask my friend, Mr. McPherson, Clerk of the House, to read the remarks which I had prepared for this occasion.

Mr. McPherson read a speech which Mr. Stevens had prepared. Mr. Stevens's own remarks were delivered with a clearness and strength of voice such as he had not manifested at any previous time during this session. He closed by offering the following as a substitute for the bill:

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That every male citizen of the United States above the age of 21 years, who was born or naturalized in the United States, or who has declared his intention to become naturalized, shall be entitled to vote upon all national questions that may arise in any State of the Union where he shall have resided for the time of 30 days; and no distinction shall be made between any such citizens on any account, except for treason, felony, or other infamous crime not below the grade of felony at common law.

Mr. Beaman (Rep., Mich.) addressed the House in support of the bill.

While Mr. Beaman was speaking, M. Broomall (Rep., Penn.) intimated that his intention was to withdraw the motion to reconsider, and let the bill go to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr Spaulding (Rep., Ohio) hoped that the debate would not be closed without giving members of the majority an opportunity of making known their objections to the bill. He did not recognize its constitutionality at all, and did not want it to go to the country that the House was prepared to pass the bill.

Mr. Broomall did not wish to interrupt the business of the House, and therefore desired the debate to close to-day by all means.

Mr. Beaman proceeded, and closed his remarks in favor of the bill.

Mr. Spalding said—I wish to remark that only last October I was called upon, as a citizen of Ohio, to vote on the proposition to amend the Constitution of that State by inserting a right for the free blacks to vote equally with the whites. I not only voted cheerfully for that provision as amendatory of my State Constitution, but I used all my influence with the citizens in my section of the State to induce them to engraft that provision on our State Constitution. It was unsuccessful. We were in advance of the sentiment of our people, and they voted it down by 40,000 majority. Now, I would like to see the member of Congress from the State of Ohio who would come here and have the boldness to vote for the passage of this bill, which cuts directly, in my judgment, across the Constitution of the United States, and really divides the action of the people of my State, who have refused to insert in their own Constitution of State government this general right of suffrage for the blacks as well as the whites. Sir, I believe the day may come when our Constitution, the great bulwark of our liberty, shall be so amended as that all free people may vote at the polls. God hasten the day when that right shall be extended. But so long as the Constitution remains as it is, I will suffer my right arm to drop from its socket sooner than vote for any such bill as that now before the House. In saying this, I am bold to affirm that I speak the sentiment of a large majority of my colleagues on this floor, irrespective of party. I should regard the passage of this bill at this hour as the death knell of our hopes as a political party in the Presidential canvass.

Mr. Kelley (Rep., Penn.) advocated the bill. He said that his colleague (Mr. Lawrence) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Spalding) had hastened to announce that the question of colored suffrage was not a party question. He admitted, but deplored the fact, because *the Republican party rests on the theory of the equality of men before the law*, and he took it for granted that those members of the party who dissented denied, as the leaders of the Democratic party did, the humanity and immortality of a mass of human beings. The majority of the human race were of that complexion and of that character of blood to which the Democratic party denies equality before the law. He was fain to admit that the Republican party had not risen to the height of standing calmly on its principles and carrying them into execution to the last result.

Mr. Woodward (Dem., Penn.) asked his colleague what clause of the Constitution confers upon the General government the right to interfere with suffrage in the States.

Mr. Kelley.—That clause which gives Congress the power to regulate the time, place, and manner of holding elections.

Mr. Kerr (Dem., Ind.) addressed the House in opposition to the bill. He agreed that it was not yet a party question, but he expressed his belief that the moment the majority in the House felt that it had the power to enact such a bill it would do so. It was the fixed and cherished purpose of the majority to change the Federal Constitution of to-day and then, under the somewhat latitudinarian language of the proposed 14th article, such a bill as this would be introduced and passed. The title of the bill should be changed and made to read: "An act to corrupt the blood and demoralize the mind of the American people, and to undermine their Constitutional government and civil liberty."

Mr. Broomall withdrew his motion to reconsider the vote referring the bill to the Judiciary Committee, and the bill and amendments were therefore left with that Committee.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1868.


## The National Anti-Slavery Standard

FOR 1868.

**PREMIUMS.**

We offer our friends what we are sure will be esteemed very liberal and welcome compensation for their efforts to add to our subscription list, namely: to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6); or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6) we will send either of the following very desirable books:

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### *THE SHORT CUT.*

THE next important test question in Congress, after impeachment has been disposed of, will be that of suffrage for the blacks in the Northern States. We say in the Northern States, as, for the time being, in the preliminary process of Reconstruction, color is ignored, as a qualification for voters in the South. The main cause of the persistent opposition of the disloyal whites of the South, is a strongly cherished hope that the conservatism of the North will come to their rescue, and by disfranchising the blacks, or greatly restricting suffrage among them, the political balance of power may yet be saved in rebel hands. The struggle is a fierce one, and the black men of the South encounter perils in going to the polls, which require of them, in many instances, as much, if not more real heroism, than distinguished their important services during the war. With Johnson deposed, and sent back disgraced to his native village, this state of affairs will be favorably modified. But, while at the North, the colored men who bravely went to the front in the time of the Nation's greatest peril, and earned the admiration of even their enemies, for their valiant, heroic, and timely service, are, as in this State, in Connecticut, Michigan, Ohio, and elsewhere—denied equal rights as citizens, solely on account of color, opposition and discontent will not cease at the South. Nor can we reasonably expect that it should.

The war has rendered necessary many changes. One of the most important was the abolition of chattelism. But abolishing chattelism, has not achieved equal freedom for the victim race. Our controversy and God's controversy with the Nation, will not be at an end till that point is attained. The cry is for peace, but there can be no true peace while inviduous distinctions, on account of race or color are tolerated. Nor can there be a genuine Republicanism.

We hold it therefore to be not only the right but the duty of Congress, in the name of the Republic, and in the interest of peace and the highest good of all classes of citizens, to assume the prerogative of regulating suffrage on all national questions in the Northern States, as well as at the South. We think it might go farther, and forbid the disfranchisement of any person, under any circumstances in any State, on account of color. If the Constitution does not now cover the whole ground, it should be made to do so. But of the jurisdiction of Congress over all the States, in all that pertains to national affairs, and of suffrage as related thereto, there is no reasonable doubt.

We hail with great satisfaction the bill introduced in the House of Representatives on the 18th inst. by the Hon. THADDEUS STEVENS, designed to abolish all distinctions between the citizens of any State "on any account except for treason, felony or other infamous crime not below the grade of felony at common law." Striking out the superfluous word "male," we hope this bill, or one not less effective, may, at an early date, become a law.

Propositions are pending with much uncertainty, in this State and in Michigan to abolish all distinctions which now exist on account of color. It is highly important—that justice may be done to a proscribed class here, and our cause be strengthened at the South—that these proscriptive distinctions be speedily abollished. Let Congress, as it ought to have done many months ago, now take the initiative, and, by the short cut of a legislative enactment, substantially settle the mooted question in the more conservative Northern States. It will also thereby indicate what must be the character of the Chicago platform, and gain thousands of votes next Autumn which are now unjustly proscribed, and which will gravitate to the scale of Radicalism.

### *LEARN FROM THE ENEMY.*

THE delays and obstructions in the process of impeachment have been so great that, when that point shall have been carried, the Republican party will be in great danger of thinking itself really victorious, and so of leaving the decisive point in the campaign still to be won by the enemy. Let us not be deceived. The removal of Andrew Johnson is only a clearing of the field for the great contest—the question whether justice or injustice is to frame the organic law of the nation. If we are not utterly blind to the lesson which slavery and the rebellion have written in letters of fire over our heads, if we do not mean to yield to the lawyers of the Confederacy all that we have won from its soldiers, we must use ceaseless vigilance and effort until political equality is secured for the negro by the words, as well as the spirit of the Constitution.

Jeff. Davis, in a recent conversation, is reported to have said—

"The end will be the same, whichever party wins in the coming contest. The whites of the South will make the laws of the South. Those who are attempting to place the power in the hands of the negroes will discover in the course of two years that it is impracticable. They have not the necessary intelligence. Slavery will never be re-established, but some kind of supervision must be exercised over the blacks for years to come."

Slavery is gone. It "will never be re-established." So far as the maintenance of that villany under the sanction of law was concerned, the leaders of the rebellion made a blunder, and are foiled. But men like them require stronger compulsion before being driven into honesty or industry. Slavery being irrecoverable, they will now bend all their energies to the enforcement of *caste*. If the negroes can still be kept down—induced to acknowledge themselves an inferior race—obliged to labor for half the fair wages of labor, and to acquiesce in the permanence of this arrangement—then the dearest wish of the ex-slaveholders may still be realized, and they may continue to hold the position of a ruling aristocracy, living on the labor of others, and stigmatizing that labor as a degradation.

In the practical work of enforcing this distinction of *caste*, the rebel leaders will have numerous and powerful allies. First, all the churches and all the clergy of the South will be actively and energetically with them. (Of course there will be exceptions enough to prove the rule. When I say *all*, I mean the whole organized power of each sect, and nineteen out of twenty of the ministers, the churches and the church-members, male and female.) While slavery lasted, these very people were the most strenuous to keep the Bible, and the power of reading it, out of the hands of their slaves. They gave them *oral* instruction out of the Bible, endlessly repeating to them as the great lesson of that book, "Servants, obey your masters." In what was called the worship of God, in their churches, the colored people, even those whose blood came, three-quarters, from their master's race, were set apart, like lepers, from the congregation. Churches, in their church capacity, owned slaves, and the wages kept back from those slaves by fraud helped pay the minister's salary. Southern ministers defended this course of policy, declared it authorized by Scripture, and wrote books and preached sermons to justify it; and all the while, knowing these things, the great mass of the Northern clergy, of all the denominations existing in the South, kept up their ecclesiastical alliance with these men as brethren "in good standing" in their various churches.

Since these Southern ministers and church-members were such zealous upholders of slavery, and of the rebellion for the sake of slavery, of course their utmost exertions will be used to save what they can from the wreck of that institution. Having always claimed that their slaveholding was a proof of their piety, a willing fulfilment of the prophecy that Canaan should be a servant, will they not of course try still to keep the blacks in a condition of servitude, even though full enslavement is no longer in their power? They can no longer buy and sell negroes; but they can combine to give them, as wages, no more than the cost of their food and clothing in slavery. They cannot prevent the establishment of free schools; but they can stigmatize these as "nigger" schools, and exert a strong influence to keep white children from joining them. They can keep up the *purity* of white worship by still confining the blacks to the negro pew which they have always occupied. And they can combine to exert a powerful influence against all exercise of the franchise and all appeal to the law for redress, by a majority of their victims, even apart from the terrors of Lynch law, and the open threats of brutal violence, which are found in many districts.

The continuance of this systematic separation of blacks from whites in all the relations of life, as it is the most direct and most powerful means of maintaining *caste*, will be most persistently followed by the rebels and their Northern allies, and should be most persistently opposed by Abolitionists. Under the reconstruction the South must have free schools; there is no help for that; but the effort will be to divide them into black schools and white schools. The New England Freedmen's Commission firmly maintain the point that *their* schools shall be open to all, without distinction of color. The "Young Men's Christian Associations" (so called), on the other hand, have decided to encourage the separation of blacks from whites in their bodies, having voted in their annual Convention a year ago, "in regard to the formation of Colored Associations"—"That the delegates of all associations *be especially requested* to aid in the formation of colored associations throughout the South." Since these bodies, like their mother, the church, adhered to slavery as long as it was in power, it is not strange that they should now lend a helping hand to their white Southern "brethren" in this direction. Indeed, in the Convention in which this vote was taken, an Essay, read by a Northern member, frankly said—"A Christian Association should be a true *aristocracy*, striving for the *predominance* of the highest and best in character and aim." In the South, where they are about to labor for the establishment of *caste* associations, it is regarded as an axiom that the whites, as compared with the colored people *are* "highest and best;" and so Northern piety agrees with Southern rebellion in deciding that "some kind of supervision (other than the laws of the land) must be exercised over the blacks for years to come."

Under these circumstances, it is plain that we must not only continue to teach the principles of civil and religious freedom, the natural rights of man and the liberty with which Christ makes free, but that we must insist upon the full embodiment of these principles in the work of reconstruction, North and South. Let there be incessant demand, exposure, rebuke and exhortation, until the Constitutions of the Union and of every State provide that distinctions of color or race shall no longer imply forfeiture of rights. Especially let institutions of learning, from the primary school upwards, be made available to all who need them. If such men as Henry Ward Beecher and Horace Greeley publicly recommend the very worst teachers of the doctrine of *caste*, and the schools where that doctrine is most grossly reduced to practice, all the more is the need that common men and women should discriminate better respecting their own teachers, and return to the first principles of the doctrine of Christ, and the axioms of the Declaration of Independence. Woe to us if our reconstruction shall be craftily qualified, in the South, so as to preserve and protect any measure of the oppression which has well nigh proved our ruin! Woe to us if our Northern States which have retained the spirit and some of the provisions of slavery shall not now seize the opportunity to purge themselves from this guilt, and do their share towards a national reformation!

C. K. W.

### *IMPEACHMENT.*

THE High Court of Impeachment met again on Monday the 23d inst., and heard the Presidents's answer to the charges against him. His answer, which occupied an hour and a half in the reading, admits, in the main, the facts charged, but denies a criminal intent.

An application made by the President's counsel for thirty day's additional time in which to prepare for his defense, was denied.

On Tuesday, the 24th, the Court sat again, when the Managers in behalf of the House of Representatives presented their replication as adopted by the House to the answer of the President. It denies the several averments of the President's answer to the impeachment charges; reasserts that he is guilty of high misdemeanors, and declares the readiness of the House to prove the same.

Mr. Sumner proposed that the trial proceed immediately. This was overruled. After two hours deliberation, on motion of Mr. Conkling, it was ordered, that the Senate will commence the trial of the President upon the articles of impeachment exhibited against him on Monday, the 30th of March, and proceed therein with all dispatch, under the rules of the Senate, sitting upon the trial of an impeachment.

We regret that the usurping President is likely to be allowed to remain in possession of the office he has so long dishonored, during the progress of his trial. He should be promptly suspended, and his opportunity for additional intrigue and mischief be thus by so much cut short.

Of his ultimate conviction and removal from office, there seems, at this date, to be little doubt. Let there not be one day of unnecessary delay. The anarchy and disorder consequent upon impeachment proceedings, so often prophesied by the opponents of the measure, has not been realized. Rebels at the South are already less demonstrative in view of the prospect of its speedy consummation, and loyalists are encouraged. Johnson deposed will be a rebel defeat of more vital significance than the surrender of Lee to Grant.

The next immediately important victory to be achieved, is a national guarantee, by act of Congress, that upon all national questions, no one shall hereafter be deprived of suffrage, in any State or Territory, on account of race or color.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made by the Universal Peace Society to hold its Second Anniversary in this city at Dodworth's Hall, Friday, May 15th, 1867, commencing at 10 a. m., and continuing throughout the day and evening.

### *PERSONAL.*

Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper lectured at Normal, Ill., Friday evening, 13th inst. Subject—"Our New Citizens."

Mrs. Kemble's readings in Philadelphia, given under the management of Mr. T. B. Pugh, have been very largely attended, and have awakened there, as in this city, unusual interest.

Mrs. Elizabeth Darrah has been appointed inspector of tobacco, snuff and cigars in the 4th Indiana district, as successor to her late husband. This is the first instance of the appointment of a woman in the Internal Revenue service outside the Bureau.

Rev. James Lynch, a colored preacher of Mississippi, challenges any one in the State to discuss the question of suffrage with him, before the voters of the State. He remarks: "My color alone should be no objection to an acceptance of this challenge, inasmuch as it will take no part in the task. I will only use my heart, my brains, and my tongue."

The Boston *Commonwealth* of the 21st inst. says:

"Mrs. Julia Ward Howe read the essay at the last meeting of the Radical Club, in this city, on Monday forenoon of this week, the subject being Doubt and Belief. The discourse was of a very positive, rather than speculative, character, and was followed by a brilliant conversation, in which Messrs. Emerson, Alcott, Wasson, Higginson and others, participated."

A New York correspondent of the Boston *Commonwealth* says:

"In looking over the *Milleduleia* (published in 1827) I alighted on this paragraph:

"Single women, who were free-holders, voted in the State of New Jersey as late as the year 1800. In a newspaper of that date is a complimentary editorial to the female voters for having unanimously supported Mr. John Adams (the defeated candidate) for President of the United States, in opposition to Mr. Jefferson, who was denounced as wanting in religion."

The London *Court Journal* lately recorded the following:

Lord Amberly is expected to arrive in England next week. He has made a long tour through the United States and British America. He has been accompanied by his wife. This lady is the daughter of Lord Stanley of Alderley, and is both beautiful and accomplished. She is one of the best politicians of the day, and a most diligent attendant of the debates. She goes to the House some three or four times a week, and often remains there for several hours. Her "at homes," on Tuesday, are a favorite resort for rising young Liberals. Hereafter the future Countess Russell will probably do for her party what Lady Palmerston and Lady Holland did before her.

The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent says:

"Mrs. Frances Lord Bond is the name of a woman who aspires to represent the United States government at the Court of St. James. She has been trying to persuade the President to appoint her for months past, and notwithstanding she is recommended for the place by numerous members of Congress without distinction of party, she has failed to get the appointment. She has recently obtained from Vice-President Wade a letter strongly urging her claims for the coveted position. She is now working assiduously for the rejection of Gen. McClellan, and should she succeed, she supposes that the President will appoint her, for the reason that she is the only person that the Senate will confirm."

The English papers announce the death, at Nice, on the 19th of February, of Mrs. Cecilia Combe, daughter of Mrs. Siddons, aunt of Mrs. Fanny Kemble and widow of Mr. George Combe. Many Americans will have pleasant recollections of this accomplished lady, who accompanied her husband on his lecturing tour through the United States in the years 1838 and 1839. Mrs. Combe survived her husband nearly ten years. They were married in 1833, and during twenty-five years Mrs. Combe was her husband's inseparable companion in all his journeys. After Mr. Combe's death his widow lived for the most part abroad, often suffering from ill-health. In accordance with her wishes, her body was brought to Edinburgh, and interred beside that of her husband in the Dean cemetery. Mrs. Combe was the last survivor of her own family.

Joseph Carpenter, of New Rochelle, N. Y., writing to *The Friend* for March says:

"There are many great and grievous evils that abound in our land. Slavery, I rejoice to see, has received its death blow, and will, I trust, shortly give up the ghost; yet its twin sister, prejudice against color, and a firm belief in skin depravity, still survives, and seems likely to live to a good old age, for its advocates and supporters may be numbered by *millions*. This prejudice is indeed a stronghold, it is the American *Sebastapol*. * * There are not a few kind-hearted, well-meaning people that are fully convinced of the wickedness and cruelty of this prejudice, and would gladly banish it at once and forever from their bosoms, but for Noah's drunken curse, which is a salve to their feelings, and awes them into submission.

"There is, indeed, great power in these time-honored, hoary-headed relics, which have been handed down to us under the authority of a *thus saith the Lord*. But I have come to the conclusion that if they are destitute of Justice, Love, and Mercy, the Lord has had nothing to do with them."

### *LETTER FROM MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD.*

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

I HAVE lately been reading a story by Trueba, a modern Spanish writer of reputation. The hero of the story was a feeble-minded man, prone to suicide. The priest, in an argument with him upon the subject, asserted that no man could take his own life, if God willed that he should *not* do it. The man, whose faith in God was none of the strongest, denied the truth of this theory. Having carelessly expended his patrimony, he became dejected, and resolved to prove his own side of the argument by putting an end to his existence. He accordingly procured a strong rope, and suspended himself from a beam of the house. But the timber, though apparently sound, was inwardly decayed. His weight brought it down, and with it a shower of doubloons, which some of his ancestors had concealed under the garret floor. This good luck reconciled him to life. But, having fallen in love with a stout lassie, who frowned upon him, he again undertook to disprove the priest's assertion, by blowing out his brains. In his earnestness to make sure of it, he pressed the pistol so close against his forehead, that it burst; and the explosion frightened away robbers, who were entering the house in search of his doubloons. He began to query whether the priest might not be in the right. But when the handsome Amazon he was wooing set the mastiff upon him while he was serenading her, he again resolved to destroy himself. "*This* time, I will make sure of it," thought he. "I will show the priest that a man *can* kill himself, if he is determined upon it." Being thus resolved to accomplish his object beyond a peradventure, he fastened a new rope to a large bough of a tree, that overhung a deep river; he then swallowed a quantity of phosphorous matches, and put a loaded pistol in his belt. Having adjusted the rope round his neck, he swung himself off, and fired the pistol at the same instant. But the ball, instead of entering his head, cut the rope in two, and he fell into the river. The lass, who had driven him to this dire extremity, happened to witness the plunge. She succeeded in drawing him out with her strong arms, and pity at last moved her hard heart to love. Her efforts to resuscitate him caused a deluge of water to pour from his mouth, and with it came the phosphorous matches. Finding that the combined process of shooting, hanging, drowning, and poisoning, all failed to counteract the decrees of Providence, he resolved that he would never again try to resist the will of God. So he married his lass, and thenceforth behaved more like a Christian.

I am repeating the outlines of this story because the lesson it conveys is one from which I derive encouragement concerning the preservation of this Republic. The government has certainly done its utmost to commit suicide. It tried persistently to destroy itself by the many-barrelled weapon called Slavery. But that pistol, being pressed too close, burst by its own explosion and frightened our robbers for a while. Government, apparently bent upon proving that it *could* destroy itself, promised to let Slavery alone, except to "put down slave insurrections with an iron hand;" the fugitive slaves who wanted to serve the United States were sent back to their rebel masters to be scourged; and the proffered aid of colored troops was contemptuously refused. This seemed very likely to secure the death of the Republic. But the rotten beam broke, and brought down upon us a treasure, hidden by our ancestors under the flooring of the edifice they had erected; the treasure of Universal Freedom, far better than a shower of doubloons. Seeing that the emancipating and arming of the blacks had become "a military necessity," government "accepted the situation," and seemed thereby to have taken out a new lease of life. Still prone to suicide, however, it proceeded to try what could be accomplished by shooting, hanging, drowning, and poisoning. Somebody, I wish I knew who he was, proposed to remove the able and upright Vice-President, and place in his stead a morally "low white," who would be more "available" as a candidate, on account of having been born and brought up among slaveholders and rebels. This man was called Moses because he could change the staff that was placed in his hand into a serpent, and bring to life again the stiffened "Cotton Mouth" of Rebellion, and that stunned "Copperhead," the "old Democratic Party." When Moses had diligently warmed these in his bosom, they began to swell exultingly, and thrust out their fangs, and sting to death every friend of the United States government, that was within their reach. Loyal men, black and white, died by thousands; industrious freedmen tried in vain to obtain little homesteads, while wealthy rebels received back again the lands they had forfeited, and even obtained offices, at the expense of the United States, as a reward for treason. Congress looked on all this, and practically said, "Let Moses have his day; it will last only four years; and if we attempt to dislodge him, we shall have trouble with the old Democratic party."

Nevertheless, though the government has done its worst to destroy itself, my belief is that God, for his own wise purposes, does not *will* our destruction, and therefore we shall not succeed in accomplishing it. Hitherto, the results of all our blind attempts at suicide have marvellously contravened the intentions that produced them. Even Andy Johnson, whose "policy" was cunningly contrived to shoot, hang, drown, or poison all measures in favor of justice and freedom, has been made the unwitting agent of some good results. "Cotton-Mouths" and "Copperheads" were disposed for a time to hide their diminished heads; but he lured them from their hiding-places, and emboldened them to show their fangs and eject their venom. The spreading poison demands an antidote; and negro suffrage is forced upon us, as a political necessity, by the same over-ruling hand that compelled us to resort to emancipation as a "military necessity." Moreover, this dilemma adds the stimulus of policy to the benevolent wish to educate the freedmen. So, you see, on whatever beam or bough we try to hang ourselves, it breaks and brings down hidden treasures.

During the war, Wendell Phillips was accustomed to say that his trust was in God and Jeff Davis. And it is plain enough that the desperation and haughty persistence of that rebel leader was the means of driving us into the "military necessity" of emancipation. No thanks to him, any more than to Andy Johnson, whose reckless and obstinate treachery has forced us into the political necessity of resorting to negro suffrage. Providence has, in such wonderful ways, defeated our successive attempts at self-destruction, that I cannot otherwise than believe He has an important mission for us to perform, in helping onward the progress of the world; and that He will continue to *drive* us into that mission, if we will not consent to be *led*. So I trust this Republic will at last honestly marry the beautiful lady Freedom, whose praises it has so long been singing, and that thenceforth it will lead a more Christian life.

An important step toward this desired consummation has been taken in the impeachment of our unprincipled and incompetent President. Congress, always afraid to trust the people, delayed that righteous measure as long as possible; thereby inflicting incalculable injury on the business of the country, depriving the emancipated of much of the benefit that would naturally have accrued from their freedom, and causing the murder of thousands of people, white and colored, whose sole offence was their loyalty to the United States. All these things, though not alluded to in the indictment, are justly chargeable to the "policy" of Andy Johnson, which Congress has so long hesitated to arrest. Very likely there will be still another attempt at suicide, by allowing our traitorous Chief Magistrate to hold and wield his vast official power while he is under trial; thereby enabling him to bribe votes of acquittal by promises of honor or emolument. Think you such temptations would be resisted by all his judges? What security can we have, when experience shows us how rare it is to find a politician who does not need, to be continually pushed up to the performance of his duty at the point of a moral bayonet?

Such a bayonet is Wendell Phillips and the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD; and I see not how these weapons of true steel can be spared from the combat, till public affairs are in a very much better state than they are at present.

Cordially your friend,

L. MARIA CHILD.

## Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 24, 1868.

So far, the trial's course has followed the plan which the Radical observers here have marked as desirable. Senators, however, seem to find considerable difficulty in making up their mind as to the delays which should be granted. It took two hours' consultation today for the Senate to determine when the trial should begin. This too, in face of the fact that the reply presented yesterday by the defence openly acknowledges all the facts on which the Articles are based, though denying the criminal inferences drawn by the House. But the impression generally prevailed this morning, that next Monday would be set for the trial to fairly begin. The expectation was realized. The defence first asked forty days, in which to prepare an answer. The Senate granted ten. Yesterday they asked thirty and got five. Mr. Johnson will probably begin to realize the truth of what he was told a few days since by a leading Republican, with whom he has always had pleasant personal relations. The gentleman I refer to was sent for by Mr. Johnson, and visited the White House in company with Senator Hendricks of Indiana. The President, after the formal salutations had passed, at once and abruptly asked the Republican what he honestly thought would be the result of the pending trial? The reply was as direct as the question: "Mr. President, just as fast as the Senate can in justice reach a conclusion of the trial, you will be impeached." "Good God! do you really think so," was the apparently astonished ejaculation of Andrew Johnson. Afterward he expressed himself as somewhat angered by the abrupt reply, but the Republican assured him that he would yet be glad to have been told the truth frankly.

About the duration of the trial, there is a general concurrence. It will hardly last twenty days, and in all probability, will be over in twelve or fifteen. I adhere to my originally expressed conviction that Benjamin F. Wade will be Acting-President, by virtue of Johnson's impeachment, on the anniversary day that this incubus was saddled on the Republic—the 15th of April. On that day, 1865, by the bullet of Booth, he was allowed to become President. Mr. Stanton provided for all contingencies, and saw that the Constitution was duly obeyed in this. Now, again, as faithful as then, Mr. Stanton is at his post, watching that the Republic suffers no damage from want of vigilance on his part, and Andrew Johnson is on the road to Tennessee, to become, if it so pleases him, alderman of his native village once more.

The McArdle case before the Supreme Court, is postponed until the final action on the bill removing jurisdiction is seen. It must be returned to the House, either signed or vetoed by to-morrow, or it will become a law through the expiration of the ten days in which the President is allowed to retain a bill. It is understood that Justices Field and Clifford were in favor of rendering a decision on the case in advance of the bill becoming a law. It is also understood that the Justices divided equally on what would be the effect of the law, on a case before and pending in the court.

It is understood that in the conduct of the Impeachment trial, the managers do not expect to consume more than four days in the examination of witnesses. They have about tweny-five subpœnaed, but most of the evidence is of a merely technical character; identifying papers, proving process, etc. On the tenth article they will call the reporters who took down the speeches, with regard to one—that on the 18th of August, 1866, at the White House, Murphy, one of the *Globe* corps, employed in the Senate, is considered to be the most thoroughly accurate reporter in America. The managers will allow all the defence may declare they desire to prove by witnesses not present, and leave the testimony of the sworn reporters to their notes, with the added recollections of several prominent journalists, against the recollections of the "cloud of witnesses" whom Mr. Johnson would like to gather from even far off Oregon.

Gen. Hancock is undoubtedly here "on mischief bent," if he has the requisite courage to find the available opportunity. Johnson has given up the notion of having his *ad interim* Secretary of War (so-called) issue an order organizing the "Division of the Atlantic," and will now place Hancock in command of Meade's old department and that of Washington; no new department will be thus created, Gen. Emory will be relieved and gotten out of the way, and we shall then see whether Hancock will do what Johnson desires. Probably some attempt will be made, to end in a fiasco, which will swamp Johnson, Hancock and the Adjutant-General completely.

The "second Washington" has returned from New Orleans, thoroughly corrupted. He has altogether forgotten the convictions which led him to declare while in command at St. Louis, that, the Wade-Henry Winter Davis manifesto against Mr. Lincoln's attempt to reconstruct Louisiana, without congressional iniatative, was the ablest and wisest state paper of the war. In conversation Hancock uses all the rebel slang about the North, declares Louisiana and Texas to be more loyal than Massachusetts, and speaks of the Republican candidates as a set of "carpet-baggers," etc. The loyalty of the Hancock outfit may be judged of by a remark quite common in the mouth of his wife at their New Orleans receptions. Mrs. Hancock says that "while her husband was fighting rebels she was fighting him. Now they are in perfect accord, fighting the Radicals." A loyal editor in Western Texas, who served gallantly in our army, writes me, after an extended tour through the State, that the personal influence of Gen. Hancock has been and is persistently used among the army officers, especially the younger men, to undermine the respect due to Congress and Gen. Grant.

AMODEUS.

## Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, March 22, 1868.

A GREAT snow-storm, rivalling that of the 17th of January a year ago, has just ceased, after an unremitted continuance from 2 o'clock Saturday morning until 1 this morning. The wind was furious, and the damp snow was so much drifted that our Metropolitan Railroad Company, after weathering all the snows of last Winter without interruption, were obliged to take out their sleighs, and undergo a trial much severer than usual of the strength and endurance of their horses, since this deep snow will very soon melt and make the worst sort of travelling.

Whether or not we have much religion in Boston, it is certain that there is now great activity in all the varieties of theological movement. High church and low church, orthodox and heterodox, conservative and radical, all seem wide-awake and active, and all are gaining proselytes and reporting enlargement of their numbers. For the encouragement of any who may think this state of things alarming, I may mention that "the world" still stands its ground, that politics and business run their usual course, that the sellers of silks, laces and jewelry were never more prosperous, and that all the varieties of theatrical exhibition, good, bad and indifferent, have had an unprecedented attendance the past season.

Our Episcopalian and Roman Catholic brethren have for a few weeks past discontinued their attendance at the gaieties last spoken of, for we are now in the "holy season of Lent," when, for the space of forty days, "Our flesh and sense must be denied." In the papistical and ritualistic churches, services are held thrice daily, but for the low-church people (among whom is the Bishop) twice probably suffices. Low church or high, however, *our* Catholics and Episcopalians still hold to *the* Church, prize the apostolical succession, venerate the ritual as sacred, and have no (ecclesiastical) dealings with dissenters. Your Tyngs of New York and your Denisons of Rhode Island may consort with Samaritans, disregard traditions, and lightly esteem dignities, if they please; but we keep to the good old paths.

Next in importance, judging by the length and minuteness of their creeds, are the various denominations of orthodox dissenters. These have paid especial and continuous attention to the cultivation of their theological fields for two or three years past, using the newest machines devised for that sort of culture (each trying Earle's patent for a few weeks at a time); and the consequence is that they have now a continuous harvest. Their prayer-meetings are prepared for by Sunday exhortations from the pulpit, and largely advertised by placards in the streets, notices in the papers, and a wide-extended system of personal solicitation, and of course they are largely attended. In these, "revivals" are reported in all the region around, city and country, and the sympathy and aid of all present are bespoken for them. Labor of this sort is always fruitful, as the success of Mormons, Spiritualists and Second Adventists has shown, as well as that of Methodists and Baptists; and believers of each of these sorts equally, after having heard the enthusiasm of the proselyters long enough to imbibe it, find "the witness of its truth *in themselves*," each feeling triumphant in the idea of a new accession of religious truth, a step of spiritual progress, for in this light is their enlistment in a sectarian train-band presented to them. The chief real characteristics of these meetings are fervent zeal, and utter emptiness in the intellectual and spiritual departments. That the "converts" who appear and testify in these meetings are taught to attach a real value to the "vain repetitions" which constitute the staple of their prayers and exhortations seems largely to account for the arrest of mental development which most of them manifest thenceforward.

The Unitarians of Boston, represented by "The Suffolk Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches," have this Winter shown unwonted vigor and activity. They are to hold to-night, in the Music Hall, the fifth of a series of very largely-attended meetings to give an account of the work of the various branches of the American Unitarian Association. To-night, also, will be delivered the sixteenth sermon of the course they are giving on successive Sunday evenings to immense audiences in the Boston Theatre. And they are holding, on Wednesday evenings, in Horticultural Hall, very interesting public meetings for social religious conversation and instruction.

Fifteen years ago, more or less, two Unitarian ministers of Boston got up in that sect an imitation of orthodox prayer-meetings, which were said, by some good judges, to be very like the genuine article. They really displayed great fervor, and had a run of popularity for a few months; but by and by both ministers became Episcopalians, their chief admirers followed them into that sect, and the remainder found no such value in the meetings as to make it worth while to continue them.

The gatherings at Horticultural Hall are not an imitation of this meeting, or of the well-known orthodox "prayer-meeting." Their founders purpose simply to have a free and informal, yet orderly, conversation on some of the chief topics of religion and theology. The subjects of conversation, pre-announced by advertisement, have thus far been the following:

"What is it to be a Christian?"

"How does a man become a Christian?"

"How shall we know whether we are Christians? or, What is the test of Christianity?"

"What is Faith?"

"What is Repentance towards God?"

These meetings have been conducted, thus far, by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, and conducted in a manner truly liberal and truly judicious. He states the question and opens the subject, and then uses his function of presiding officer to secure free expression of the views and feelings entertained in regard to it by the men and women of the assembly. This opportunity of speech is largely accepted, and every form of belief and unbelief finds some representative; questions are asked and answered, doubts are presented and resolved, misapprehensions are cleared up, and the continued large attendance of earnest men and women seems to show that the hour spent there is useful.

The views of religion called "Radical"—kindred to those which Theodore Parker taught—are represented by two weekly meetings, besides the Sunday morning services of the 28th Congregational Society of Boston. The first of these is the course of "Radical Lectures on Religion," delivered on Sunday evenings in Fraternity Hall. The last lecture by Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, on "Scriptural Interpretation," attracted a crowded audience, and richly repaid them. The tenth lecture is to be delivered to-night, by Rev. Rowland Connor, to whom applications for the repetition of these lectures in other towns may be made.

The second series of meetings above mentioned is held by a body who call themselves "The Radical Religious Association," and who meet on Monday evenings, in Concord Hall, at the South end of the city, for discussion on points of religion and theology. They are said to be dissenters from an eminently *fashionable* Unitarian church in that vicinity, who wish for a doctrine deeper and higher than that afforded by the average Unitarian pulpit. They unite, they say, "for mutual religious and social improvement in all the virtues and graces," and the last paragraph of their invitation of the public to their meetings is the following, which stands in striking contrast to the ordinary anchorage of churches to a creed:

"We welcome all honest seekers after truth to our meetings and discussions, and hold ourselves in readiness to modify or change our statement of belief, should it appear to us at any future time to conflict with scientific truth, or with better and broader views of God or the progress and welfare of men."

Last in the list of radical religionists of whom I have to speak, is a Jew, the Rabbi Nathans, who having been forbidden, on account of his progressive spirit, to preach in the Synagogue in Warren street, is preaching to the general public, on Sunday afternoons, in Horticultural Hall. He is of German birth, and having not been long in this country, does not speak English well, though he seems to have a good understanding of it. He is to deliver in English, to-day, the discourse which he had prepared for the Synagogue in commemoration of the feast of Purim. He is said to take an enlightened view of the character and value of the Hebrew Scriptures, and to be able to make instructive suggestions in regard to our English translation of them.

NORTH.

### *NO PROPERTY QUALIFICATION.*

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

THE great question as to whether man or money is supreme, at least in the cases of thousands, is about to be passed upon by the people of the State of New York. Passed upon is the word—not decided—for, fortunately, there is a Superior Court to which, under the Constitution, the question can be appealed. It is doubtful if, in a republican form of government, New York can annul the rights of citizens of her State; but it is certain that she cannot, without just cause, abridge those of citizens of the United States. From the high tone of the debate in the House of Representatives last week, it is manifest that the doctrine of the Declarsion of Independence is about to be partially endorsed, viz.: "That all just governments rest on the consent (of the male portion) of the governed."

To the statesman, the condition of the people holding their political liberty subject to the ruling of the separate States is an anomaly to be deplored. It is a patchwork monstrosity, a Joseph's coat of many colors, without harmony or symetry. Unquestionably, if the various laws of the States on the subject of the suffrage obtained throughout the globe, the majority of the males, as well as all the females, would be ruled out of the right of self-government. But the difficulty of solving the question in any other manner than that of proclaiming the suffrage authoritatively to be a universal right common to mankind, lies deeper even than this. Is the dignity of the citizenship of the United States, a thing which may be put on by one State and taken off by another like a coat or a boot? Is the grave right of self-government a political ignis fatus seen here, and lost again there? Does it consort with the honor of the nation to permit its decrees to be nullified or evaded by its fragmentary parts? Surely not. And in this late day, when portions of Germany, France, and even Great Britain have set their faces Zionward, it is a moral impossibility for this great Republic to think of allowing any of its male citizens, at least, to be oppressed by sectional injustice in this matter.

In a short time that portion of the people of the State of New York who are permitted by State authority to vote, will be called upon to decide at the polls, whether men born on the soil, of mature age, sound minds, and uncontricted of crime, shall be allowed to govern themselves, if they are guilty of the enormity of not having amassed two hundred and fifty dollars? For reasons before stated, it is not likely an unjust decision

by any State either will or ought to terminate the controversy. Since the annihilation of slavery, the question is not one between a fractional citizen and a State, but between a State and the United States. Neither California, Ohio, nor Massachusetts, whose edicts conflict, are in power on that most important subject on which depends mainly the social, civil, and religious liberties of the people of the United States. Naturalized citizens, more especially those from Great Britain and Ireland, will do well to remember that by voting for the continuance of the property qualification for negroes in this State, they are sanctioning the course ever consistently pursued, even in this last reform bill, by the British government, their former oppressor.

R. W. H.

## *"NO NEGRO WAS SEEN IN THE GALLERY."*

From the Boston Commonwealth.

Of course not! This proud Anglo Saxon race has not yet conquered its prejudices, though its hatred is of the most unreasoning and inconsistent kind. "No negro was to be seen" in all the regiments that paraded through the streets of Washington, at the close of the war, though he had demonstrated his right to be recognized as a citizen and soldier by a dozen gloriously-fought engagements. Covered with the halo of bravery at Milliken's Bend, Fort Pillow, Port Hudson, Fort Wagner, Olustee, Drury's Bluff, the Petersburg Mine—winning the praise of Gen. Grant as brave, skillful and patient soldiers—yet the authorities high in the army wholly neglected them in the grand parade that betokened our complete victory—not a representative man of their race being seen in that countless army of returned veterans that made the streets of Washington shake at their tread! And now, when their apostate "Moses" is arraigned at the bar of the nation's court to answer for all the crimes committed against their race and the loyal cause, this same people, who have shown since the war all that there is of thrift, and industry, and loyality, in the South, are, to a man, excluded from the Senate-chamber, the ear of not one of them being filled with the righteous charges brought in the name of liberty against their great oppressor! While fashionable women and frivolous girls, in all the radiance of their spring costumes, chatter and ogle, as at a New York *matinee*, as the great trial proceeds, this brave race in war—a thrifty and industrious race in peace—having more at stake in the result than any other class of our people, wander up and down the staircases and through the corridors of the capitol vainly seeking one friendly janitor's face that shall be the passport to admit them to the coveted gallery, not yet completely filled! Such partiality for the white race, such exclusion of the black, is unworthy a nation that has accepted the services of these men in the hour of danger, that relies upon them to renovate the South, and that even boasts that they will demonstrate the union of our people. Gentlemen Senators! let this scandal upon American civilization no longer be tolerated by your silence and your indifference!

## *KIDNAPPING.*

Boston, March 14th, 1868.

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

Who shall dare affirm that the "chattel" system of slavery is wholly extinct among us, if there is any ground for such statements as are contained in the following extract, which I cut from one of our Boston papers of yesterday?

Mysterious Disappearances in New York.—The number of persons annually lost in the city of New York is very large, and the Metropolitan Police have a Bureau especially devoted to the finding of missing people. No less than 239 cases of lost persons have been reported to this bureau within the past four months. Of these 89 were adult males, 35 adult females, 63 boys and 52 girls. The lost men are reported as generally young, and as having been engaged in business; the women were also for the most part young, but more old women than old men were missed. Of the boys the majority are set down as ranging in age from fourteen to nineteen, and the girls from fourteen to eighteen years. The latter, when found, have in almost every instance been discovered in disreputable houses.

Now, after making all due allowance for a possible exaggeration in this statement, there is no doubt that in a crowded city like New York, and even in the good old puritanic city of Boston there is a system of *kidnapping*, as it were, certain laborers, whether young or old, and a catering to brothels and other haunts of servitude which substantiates our charge that slavery, or at least the essential virus of it, is not dead yet, and fully justifies our claim that The Standard should be vigorously sustained as the uncompromising advocate of human rights, and for all classes, whether black or white.

We may well keep our flag at "the masthead," so long as a usurper is still at the head of our government; so long as one State or another halts and dawdles as to the civil rights and social claims of the colored race, and so long as is indicated (by the printed statement I send you) a pro-slavery animus in our Northern States.

J. T. S.

## *LETTER FROM JOSEPH CARPENTER.*

Aaron M. Powell.—*My Dear Friend:* The following extract is taken from the Will of an aged Friend who died in the year 1756: "It is my Will, that my son, Benjamin Cornell, shall keep and maintain my old Wench Jennie, during her life."

The foregoing extract goes to show the very low social position that colored people occupied in the minds of the community at that early day. Ten sheep, two cows, one horse, saddle and bridle, and a young "*Niger Wench*," was a very important part of the outfit of a young housekeeper.

Such language as the foregoing was common tea-table talk seventy years ago. It is truly gratifying to see that some progress is actually made in the right direction. Such language now would seem very coarse and vulgar, and would scarcely be tolerated in decent society. Very cordially and truly, thy friend,

Joseph Carpenter.

New Rochelle, N. Y., 3d mo. 18th, 1868.

## *OBITUARY.*

### DEBORAH BUNKER.

Departed this life at Rochester, March 1st, 1868, Deborah Bunker, aged 84 years—her husband, Laban Bunker, having "Gone before." She was a member of the religious Society of Friends, adhering strictly to that sect as it regards their fundamental principles, eschewing the formalities and non essentials, which, without life, interpose between the Spirit and Godliness. She was an affectionate wife and mother, a kind neighbor and friend, and gave a healthful influence to Liberty in its fullest sense, always ready to stand by the oppressed and to assist in destroying every barrier calculated to impede their elevation in whatever way the oppressor proposed to crush them, either spiritually or physically. By acts of kindness, tender and affectionate, she greatly enhanced the comfort of those around her. Her spirit appearing fresh and young and her intellect vigorous to the last.

"On she moved to meet her latter end,
Angels around befriending virtue's Friend;
Sinking to the grave with unperceived decay,
While resignation gently sloped the way;
And all her prospects, brightening to the last,
Her heaven commenced before the world was passed."

S. D. F.

### ESTHER HAYES.

Departed this life on First day, the 1st of 3d month, 1868, at the residence of Joseph H. Painter, Fairfax county, Va., Esther Hayes, widow of Mordecai Hayes, formerly of Chester county, Pa., in the 81st year of her age. The deceased was a native of Chester county, but was a resident of Columbiana county, Ohio, when she married Mordecai Hayes, and returned to Newlin township, Chester county, in the year 1813, where she resided until after the death of her estimable husband, about twenty years since. She was an active member of the Society of Friends and devoted to the principles of the Society until an unhappy division arose in relation to the subject of Slavery. Her devotion to the cause of universal liberty and the elevation of the downtrodden of all classes was paramount to all other duties of life. From early life she was earnestly interested in the abolition of slavery, and long before any regular organization existed for its overthrow, she and her husband turned their attention to assisting the fugitive from bondage on his way to liberty. When the Anti-Slavery Society sprang into existence she was prepared to unite with it, and was an active co-worker in the cause of freedom from its inception to the time of her demise. No sacrifice was too great, or duty too arduous when demanded for humanity. She was possessed of a remarkable intellect which remained unimpaired until the last moments of her existence. Through a long life of usefulness she was spared to witness the consummation of her desires, so devoutly wished and so earnestly and devotedly labored for, i. e., the overthrow of the accursed system of slavery. After the war against our government had ceased and peace partially restored, she was again a pioneer in the great cause of humanity, and located with her neice (formerly Esther Kersey, now the wife of Joseph H. Painter) in Virginia, and, up to the time of her death, assisted in instructing the freedmen in the duties pertaining to their new condition in society. The consolation in witnessing the rapid progress made by these people was to her a source of infinite pleasure in her declining years. She passed away in the full enjoyment of her faculties as peacefully and gently as the morning dew, under the genial rays of the sun, leaves the earth for its ethereal existence. Her measure was full. Her work was finished.

The colored people, formerly chattel slaves, desired to be the bearers of her earthly form to its last resting-place, showing an appreciation of her untiring efforts in their behalf.

Her remains were interred in Friends' burying-ground at Woodlawn, a few miles from her former residence, on the 6th of 3d month, where a meeting was held on the occasion in Friends' meeting-house.

## *IS CHARLES SUMNER A STATESMAN?—REVIEW OF HIS "WAR RECORD."*

BY JAMES REDPATH.

NO. I.

Boston, March 7, 1868,
(*Anniversary of Daniel Webster's Suicide*).

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

Again the sagacity of the Anti-Slavery leaders has been demonstrated by events; and Johnson, the leper whom they denounced when the "statesmen" of the country praised his rosy complexion, stands to-day as a criminal before the bar of justice.

No man in American history ever had the chance of doing so much good as Johnson has done ill; but no man in our history has ever had the chance which Senator Wade will soon have to immortalize his name by a few brief months of power.

Or, shall it be *years* instead? No radical Republican wants Grant as President. I have no doubt that he will make an average—or, as my friend Durgin, the commercial editor, expresses it, "from fair to middling" President. He will not kick against the pricks, as Johnson has done, nor yield a hair's breadth to traitors, as Buchanan did; he will execute the laws that Congress enacts, without partiality or prejudice or enthusiasm; but we have no right to expect that the man under whom Memphis and New Orleans poured out loyal blood like water, will ever make a ruler whom we ought to seek to have over us. Better double his salary—for he has fairly earned it—and increase his military honors and his dearly beloved stud to any extent, than seek to repay his services in the field by making him the guardian of the National Wards and a powerful obstacle, as he would probably be, to the speedy triumph of radical ideas.

Will Wade see his dazzling opportunity and sail in on the flood in his affairs which shall bear him on to fortune? He has no hope but in becoming the recognized champion and incarnation of the Radical party. Any attempt to compromise with the Conservatives would ruin him. They do not trust him and they never will, and never ought to trust him. He must stand or fall as the Radical leader. True to the Radical creed and to Radical men, his foolish Kansas speech and his explanation of it will be speedily forgotten, and he will carry the next Republican Nominating Convention.

Seward must be sent to Auburn, either to repent of his long career of chicanery and resplendent lying, or to prove that it is a decent and Christian thing to do in a National crisis—to write volume after volume of insincere and verbose dispatches, in order to effect what only a dozen stern words from Butler, or a single earnest letter from Sumner would have done at any time after the opening of the war. Thank God—the day for Talleyrands in America is over!

I suppose that every Radical, without exception, expects that Mr. Sumner will be appointed as Mr. Seward's successor. His thorough knowledge of European politics, and his long service as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, point him out, among all others, as the man of the new era, best fitted to succeed the charlatan of the old *regeme*.

There will be a howl of objections from the Conservative press. They will affirm that he is an "impracticable" statesman—a theorist only, and that such an eminent and safe leader as Mr. Fessenden should have been chosen for the place. Let us examine, in advance, these insolent assertions of the class of men who never see a danger until they are face to face with it; who never seek a remedy until they are laid upon their bed with a disease; whose respect for things as they are is so profound that they would never have been born if nature had they not become impatient of their load.

There are some men—not many—whose career I watch with interest and attention. Wendell Phillips alone excepted, there is no man who has a grander war record than Charles Sumner. Gen. Butler's is good—but it opens badly. Mr. Stevens's is excellent—but he is as bitter a champion of the feudal policy of special "protection" as of the modern policy of universal freedom. Senator Wilson's is quite clean—but he works for Grant, who gets drunk, and is no Radical, and objects to other candidates, who *are* Radicals, because they sometimes drink.

But comparisons are not always pleasant; and so I shall confine myself to the single theme that I have chosen—a review of the public record of Mr. Sumner on the great issues of the war up to the close of the last session of Congress.

### EMANCIPATION AS A WAR MEASURE.

On the 1st of October, 1861, Mr. Sumner delivered at the Worcester Convention his speech entitled "Union and Peace—how they shall be restored:"

The object of that speech was to invoke emancipation to put down the war, and to show that we could not re-establish the Union without putting down slavery. It was Mr. Sumner's first important speech after the war began, and it was the first speech delivered in our country, by a political leader, which took that ground.

One or two passages will recall its argument better than a column of analysis.

For example thus:

"The government is assailed by a rebellion without precedent. Never before since Satan warred upon the Almighty has rebellion assumed such a front (applause); and never before has it begun in such a cause. The rebels are numerous and powerful; and their cause is slavery. (Sensation.)"

And thus:

"It is often said that the war will make an end of slavery. This is probable. But it is surer still, that *the overthrow of slavery will at once make an end of the war.* (Tumultuous applause and cheers.)"

"If I am correct in this statement, which I believe is beyond question, then do reason, justice and policy all unite in declaring that the war must be brought to bear directly on the grand conspirator, and omnipresent enemy. (Here the vociferous cheers of the Convention interrupted the speaker.) Not to do this, is to take upon ourselves, in the present contest, all the weakness of slavery, while we leave to the rebels its boasted resources of military strength. (Cheers.) Not to do this, is to squander life and treasure in a vain masquerade of battle, which can have no practical result. Not to do this, is blindly to neglect the plainest dictates of economy, humanity and common sense; and alas! simply to let slip the dogs of war on a mad chase over the land, never to stop until spent with fatigue, or sated with slaughter. (Sensation.)

"Believe me, fellow-citizens, I know all the imagined difficulties and unquestioned responsibilities of this suggestion. But if you are in earnest, the difficulties will at once disappear, and the responsibilities are such as you will gladly bear. This is not the first time that a knot hard to untie has been cut by the sword (cheers); and we all know that danger flees before the brave man. Believe that you can, and you can. The will only is needed. Courage now is the highest prudence. (Applause.)

"It is not necessary even, according to a familiar phrase, *to carry the war into Africa. It will be enough if we carry Africa into the war*—(here the outburst of applause compelled the speaker to suspend his remarks); in any form, any quantity, any way. (Continued applause.) The moment this is done, rebellion will begin its bad luck, and the Union will be secure for ever. (Cheers.)"

Every one will remember that while this speech and this position was enthusiastically applauded in the Convention, it was not sustained by the Republican press or the Republican assemblies of the country.

This was followed by a speech delivered in New York on the 27th of November, entitled "The Rebellion: Its Origin and Mainspring." Its title is a brief of its argument. He showed in this elaborate oration, that the origin and mainspring of rebellion was slavery, and therefore, *as a military necessity*, that it was our duty to strike out slavery without stating whether the method of Butler, Fremont or John Quincy Adams was the true system, he insisted that reason and sentiment both concurred in this policy; that in no way could we do so much at so little cost; that to the enemy such a blow would be terror; to good men an encouragement; and to foreign nations, who were watching the contest, an earnest of something beyond a mere carnival of battle.

Let me quote two noble passages from this remarkable speech. Thus:

Thank God! our government is strong; but thus far all signs denote that it is not strong enough to save the Union and at the same time to save slavery. One or the other must suffer; and just in proportion as you reach forth to protect slavery, do you protect this accursed rebellion; nay, you give to it that very aid and comfort, which under our Constitution is treason itself. Perversely and pitifully do you postpone that sure period of reconciliation, not only between the two sections—not only between the men of the North and the men of the South, but, more beautiful still, between the slave and his master, without which that true tranquility, which we all seek, cannot be permanently assured to our country. Believe it; only through such reconciliation, under the sanction of freedom, can you remove all occasion of contention hereafter; only in this way, can you cut off the head of this great rebellion, and at the same time extirpate that principle of evil, which, if allowed to remain, must shoot forth in perpetual discord, if not in other rebellions; only in this way can you command that safe victory—without which this contest will be vain—which will have among its conquests indemnity for the past and security for the future—the noblest indemnity and the strongest security ever won—because founded in the redemption of a race. (Cheers.)

And this, also:

There is a classical story of a mighty hunter, whose life in the Book of Fate, had been made to depend upon the preservation of a brand which was burning at his birth. The brand, so full of destiny, was snatched from the flames and carefully preserved by his prudent mother. Meanwhile the hunter became powerful and invulnerable to mortal weapons. But at length the mother, indignant at his cruelty to her own family, flung the brand upon the flames and the hunter died. The story of that hunter so powerful and invulnerable to mortal weapons, is now repeated in this rebellion, and slavery is the fatal brand. Let our government, which has thus far preserved slavery with maternal care, simply fling it upon the flames which itself has madly aroused, and the rebellion will die at once. (Sensation.)

Both of these speeches went to Europe, and were largely quoted by Laboulaye, Gasparin, and English writers with great effect.

It is well known by those familiar with the inside workings of politics at the White House, that in December, of the same year, Mr. Sumner pressed on President Lincoln the duty of emancipation, and missed no opportunity to urge his views on all the leading men of the Cabinet, with whom he stood in friendly relations.

On the 10th and 11th of December, Mr. Sumner delivered two different funeral addresses on Bingham and Baker, the latter in the presence of the President, who occupied a chair by the side of the Speaker, and in each of them he contrived to introduce an argument against slavery, and in favor of striking at it in order to put down the rebellion.

Speaking of Mr. Bingham, he eulogized him, because "Slavery was to his mind the origin and the vital part of the rebellion, and therefore it was to be attacked. Slavery was also the mainspring of the belligerent power now arrayed against the Union; therefore, in the name of the Union, it was to be overturned. While he valued the military arm as essential, he saw that without courageous counsels it would be feeble. The function of the statesman is higher than that of the general; and our departed Senator saw that on the counsels of the government, even more than on its armies, rested the great responsibility of bringing this war to a speedy and triumphant close. Armies will obey orders, but it is for the government to organize and to inspire victory. All this he saw plainly; and he longed impatiently for that voice—herald of Union and Peace—which, in behalf of a violated Constitution, and in the exercise of a just self-defence, should change the present contest from a bloody folly into a sure stage of human improvement and an immortal landmark of civilization."

The peroration of Mr. Sumner's eulogium of Colonel Baker, is one of the finest passages that he ever wrote:

But the question is painfully asked, who was the author of this tragedy, now filling the Senate Chamber, as it has already filled the country, with mourning? There is a strong desire to hold somebody responsible, where so many perished so unprofitably. But we need not appoint committees or study testimony in order to know precisely who took this precious life. That great criminal is easily detected—still erect and defiant without concealment or disguise. The guns, the balls and the men that fired them are of little importance. It is the power behind them all, saying, "the State, it is I," which took this precious life; and this power is slavery. The nine balls which slew our departed brother came from slavery. Every gaping wound of his slashed bosom testifies against slavery. Every drop of his generous blood cries out from the ground against slavery. The brain so rudely shattered, and the tongue so suddenly silenced in death, speak now with more than living eloquence against slavery. To hold others responsible is to hold the dwarf agent and to dismiss the giant principal. Nor shall we do great service if we merely criticise some local blunder, while we leave untouched that fatal forbearance through which the weakness of the rebellion is changed into strength, and the strength of our armies is changed into weakness.

Let not our grief to-day be a hollow-pageant; let it not expend itself in this funeral pomp. It must become a motive and an impulse to patriot action. But patriotism itself, that commanding charity, embracing so many other charities, is only a name, and nothing else, unless you resolve—calmly, plainly, solemnly—that slavery—the barbarous enemy of our country—the irreconcilable foe of our Union—the violator of our Constitution—the disturber of our peace—the vampire of our national life, sucking its best blood—the assassin of our children, and the murderer of our dead Senator, shall be struck down. And the way is easy. The just avenger is at hand, with weapon of celestial temper. Let it be drawn. Until this is done, the patriot, discerning clearly the secret of our weakness, can only say sorrowfully—

——"bleed, bleed, poor country;
Great tyranny, lay thou thy basis sure,
For goodness dares not check thee!"

I have heard that Senator Wade, whose seat was immediately before that of Mr. Sumner, was so powerfully impressed with this passage, that he declared it to be the "biggest sentence ever uttered by a human being." Mr. Sumner's persistency at this time, provoked the remark that he would not let any one be buried, or any bill pass, without managing to bring in slavery.

No adult reader is young enough to forget that Mr. Sumner was branded as an "impracticable man" for these theories, and everybody knows that to-day these theories are embodied in our most sacred laws.

### ARMING THE BLACKS.

Emancipation came at last, and immediately upon it came up the question of arming the blacks. There was the same hesitation; but Mr. Sumner again pushed forward. By his resolution of May 28, 1862, he had insisted on the employment of slaves, "according to their ability, whether by arms, or labor, or information, or in any other way."

After the proclamation of emancipation, he introduced a bill for the organization of colored troops. Afterwards, on the motion of the late Preston King, the same principle was embodied in one of the military bills.

The next theory which Mr. Sumner first propounded, for which he was denounced, but which is now adopted in practice, was the territorial theory, or as it was called, the doctrine of

### STATE SUICIDE.

There were thinking men all over the country who regarded it as the true theory, and Mr. Sumner received for this action more expressions of gratitude from correspondents than he ever got for any other act of his public life. It was widely discussed by the press and in pamphlets. Many who shrank from its naked presentation, yet withheld their objections to it from a belief that the obstinacy of the rebels would compel the party to adopt it. Many others took an immediate stand against it. Mr. Fessenden said in his place, in the Senate, that in offering the resolutions embodying this theory, Mr. Sumner "stood alone." Mr. Sherman took similar ground. Another eminent Senator from New England declared it to be the greatest blunder of Mr. Sumner's career.

What were these resolutions? The gist of the series—there were nine of them—is contained in the title and in the first resolution:

Resolutions declaratory of the relations between the United States and the territory once occupied by certain States, and now usurped by pretended governments without constitutional or legal right. . . . .

1. Resolved, *That any vote of secession* or other act by which any State may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the Constitution within its territory *is inoperative and void against the Constitution*, and *when sustained by force*, it becomes a practical *abdication* by the State of all rights under the Constitution, while the treason which it involves still further works an instant *forfeiture* of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the State as a body politic; so that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, as other territory, and the State becomes, according to the language of the law, *felo-de-se*.

Practically, these resolutions are now in force. All our reconstruction acts stand on the foundation laid in the ninth resolution:

That the duty directly cast upon Congress by the action of the States is re-enforced by the positive prohibition of the Constitution that "no State shall enter into any confederation," or "without the consent of Congress keep troops or ships-of-war in time of peace, or enter into any agreement or compact with another State," or "grant letters of marque and reprisal," or "coin money," or "emit bills of credit," or "without the consent of Congress lay any duties on imports or exports," all of which have been done by these pretended governments, and also by the positive injunction of the Constitution, addressed to the nation, that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government;" and that, in pursuance of this duty cast upon Congress, and further enjoined by the Constitution, *Congress will assume complete jurisdiction of such vacated territory where such unconstitutional and illegal things have been attempted, and will proceed to establish therein republican forms of government under the Constitution:* and, in the execution of this trust, will provide carefully for the protection of all the inhabitants thereof, for the security of families, the organization of labor, the encouragement of industry, and the welfare of society, and will in every way discharge the duties of a just, merciful, and paternal government.

Mr. Sumner, therefore, is justly entitled to the authorship of this idea, which was advocated in advance of emancipation itself, and in order to pave the way for that illustrious measure. These resolutions were offered in February, 1862.

During all this time Mr. Sumner was laboring with Mr. Lincoln to bring about the emancipation proclamation. Mr. Stanton zealously co-labored with him.

After Congress adjourned, in the Autumn of 1863, Mr. Sumner published in the *Atlantic Monthly* an article in which he argued in favor of the power of Congress over the whole subject of slavery. The influence of this essay in aiding to form public sentiment, both directly and by furnishing speakers with ideas, is well-remembered by many journalists and other close observers of the times. In this paper the territorial theory was clearly developed and the supreme authority of Congress asserted.

A New Political Movement in Washington.—A new movement among our political managers is being developed, intended to bring forward Chief-Justice Chase as the conservative candidate for the Presidency. These managers contend that Judge Chase was originally a Democrat of the strictest school, and seceded from the party on the abolition issue; but as that issue is no longer in existence, he now occupies a fair position to be made available in the next Presidential contest. Such is the talk among those who in a great measure run the party machinery, and a very decided feeling is being created in favor of Judge Chase as the nominee of the Democratic party. In the meantime the Radicals are not backward in expressing their distrust of him as presiding officer in the Court of Impeachment, and their fear that he will yet spoil their game and allow the President to escape.—*Cor. Boston Post—Dem.*

A Conflict of Races.—The Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* says: An episode occurred at the Concert at Mechanic's Hall last Tuesday, trifling in itself, but sufficient to distract the attention of the audience and to entirely spoil the "male quartette." A colored man had purchased a seat in the gallery, and when the usher conducted him to it he found it filled by a white man, who had no check for the seat. White man refused to move, and the rightful owner of the seat waited quietly while the usher went for a policeman, who ejected the intruder and gave the seat to its owner. When the colored man first appeared, several hisses were heard, but when he took his seat, there was a burst of applause from the audience which lasted long enough to drown the quartette and compel the singers to retire. The intruder evidently got a lesson that a black man has rights which he was bound to respect.

The Springfield *Republican* says: "The woman suffrage question has got into the churches, and in some places is creating considerable excitement. A Congregational church at Chicago, under the leadership of Prof. Haven of the theological seminary there, and formerly of Amherst college, has just given the right of suffrage to women and male members under age; and the question has been agitated quite vigorously of late, both at the West and in some of the churches in this vicinity. It is perhaps a good thing to let the churches try the experiment first, and if woman suffrage is a success, or accomplishes any good end or purpose there, the state can adopt it afterwards. We are bound to say, however, that the churches for the most part fight shy of it, and the Chicago body is likely to have few imitators."

Women Doctors are improving in their prospects. Doctors Elizabeth and Emma Blackwell have a large practice in New York city, as have Doctor Haydon and Doctor Lozier. In Philadelphia six ladies who practice medicine have incomes ranging from $2,000 to $10,000. The highest income in New York, of a lady doctor, is $15,000. In Boston, Doctor Zakrzewska has a large and lucrative practice, keeps her carriage, and owns real estate. There are female doctors of note in Utica, Rochester, Elmira and Milwaukee. In 1866, 18 female students attended medical lectures at Bellevue Hospital.

## *LITERARY.*

The Chimney Corner. By Christopher Crowfield, 312 pages. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

The interesting series of "Christopher Crowfield" papers, entitled the "Chimney Corner," which appeared in successive numbers of the *Atlantic Monthly*, from the pen of Mrs. Stowe, have recently been issued in book form by Messrs. Ticknor & Fields. They make an attractive volume of three hundred and twelve pages. They embrace a variety of topics, embracing the "Woman Question," "Reconstruction," "Bodily Religion," "How shall we entertain our company?" "Amusements," "Dress," etc., etc. As a whole they constitute one of the most suggestive and entertaining of the books which Mrs. Stowe has furnished for the reading public.

Oratory—Sacred and Secular; or the Extemporaneous Speaker, by Rev. William Pittenger, with an introduction by Hon. John A. Bingham. 220 pages. New York: S. R. Wells, 389 Broadway.

This volume is from the pen of the author of "Daring and Suffering," who has had also an extended experience in extemporaneous speaking as a Methodist clergyman. He gives a clear and succinct exposition of what he considers the best Rules and Methods of practice by which readiness in the expression of thought may be acquired, and an acceptable style, both in composition and gesture. Mr. Bingham, who is one of our best extemporaneous speakers, writes an interesting introductory chapter, with excellent hints and suggestions in relation to extemporaneous discourse. Part first of the book compares written and extemporaneous discourse; with illustrative examples. Part second treats of the sermon; part third, of secular oratory and miscellaneous Addresses; part fourth describes eminent speakers and their methods, including Lord Chatham, Pitt, Burke, Mirabeau, Patrick Henry, Wendell Phillips, Anna E. Dickinson, Beecher, Bingham, Spurgeon and others. The Appendix presents a Chairman's Guide, valuable to the inexperienced, with directions how to organize and conduct public meetings and debating clubs in a parliamentary manner.

A careful perusal of this volume will afford many valuable hints to such as desire to achieve efficiency and success in public speaking. Painstaking practice must, however, be mainly relied upon.

*The Northern Monthly* for March presents an interesting table of contents. Charles Lanman contributes an interesting article upon "Our Magazine Literature," historical in its character. It chronicles the numerous births and deaths in this field of literary enterprise, and traces the fluctuations in the fortunes of magazine publishers.

Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, of this city, formerly of Maryland, furnishes a well-written sketch of the Life of Benjamin Lundy. This paper presents many interesting details of the early life, and of the pioneer labors of Benjamin Lundy in the Anti-Slavery Cause. These will be new to younger Abolitionists, and to the multitudes who in years past, though they may have been nominally alive, have been dead to the real character of the mighty conflict which has been in progress in the land, and of the men and women engaged therein. As a personal friend of the survivors of Lundy, and himself for many years an earnest, outspoken friend of freedom, Dr. Snodgrass writes with a warm appreciation of the noble character, and heroic, unselfish pioneer struggles of one of whom the world will know more as the history of the great struggle for the overthrow of slavery is fully and impartially written.

*The Lord's Freedman* is the title of a neatly-printed pamphlet edition of a discourse by the Rev. Frederick Frothingham of Buffalo, N. Y., the major portion of which appeared in The Standard a few weeks since. It is published by W. P. Tomlinson at 39 Nassau street, and may be had for distribution at the low rate of ten cents per copy. It is an able and eloquent appeal in behalf of the colored race for justice and equal rights.

*Our Young Folks* for April presents an attractive number for its juvenile readers. Dickens continues his Holiday Romance; Miss Muloch tells a true story about "The Little Jew," and Mrs. Stowe writes of "Emily at Home Again." There are also "Lessons in Magic;" an account of "The Lady who put Salt in her Coffee," and other wonderful stories, besides the entertaining treasury of charades, puzzles and problems.

The April number of *The Herald of Health* contains an interesting article from O. B. Frothingham on "Marriage—Fashionably Regarded;" "Building the House," by Mrs. E. O. Smith; "The Trials of Young Men," a discourse by Rev. E. H. Chapin; "Diseases of Women," by Dr. G. H. Taylor; "Water as a Beverage," by George Stearns; "Tobacco the great Ally of Alcohol," by Rev. George Trask; "Statue," by Mrs. F. D. Gage; and other attractive and interesting contributions.

The April number of *The Phrenological Journal* is fresh, racy, vigorous. Among the portraits and characters are Adelina Patti, Isaac Jennings, M.D., Allen A. Griffith, the Western Elocutionist, Charles I. of England, King and Queen of Greece; Revs. M. J. Raphall, S. M. Isaacs, Isaac Leeser, A. De Sola, Dr. Adler, Dr. Illowy and six other prominent Jewish divines; articles and sketches on "Phantasmagoria—Association of Ideas in Memory;" "Who shall be Chief?" or Mrs. E. O. Smith on "The Family;" "The Pipe and its Story;" "Inordinate Affection," by Rev. G. J. Geer, D.D.; "Dissipation—Disease;" "Our Congressmen," etc. Price, only 30 cents a number, or $3 a year. Address S. R. Wells, 389 Broadway, New York.

We reprint on our fourth page, from the *Galaxy* for March, a very interesting sketch of "John Bright at Home," from the pen of Col. Richard J. Hinton, of Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED.

*The Atlantic Monthly* for April. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

*Harper's Magazine* for April. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*Our Young Folks* for April. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

*Phrenological Journal* for April. New York: S. R. Wells, editor.

*Harper's Weekly Bazar.* New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Pickwick Papers, the Charles Dickens edition. 1 volume, 497 pages. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

*The Lord's Freedman*, a discourse by Rev. Frederick Frothingham. Pamphlet edition, 13 pages. New York: William P. Tomlinson, 39 Nassau Street.

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# Miscellaneous Department.

## ALL IS WELL.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Her window opens to the bay,
On glistening light or misty gray,
And there, at dawn and set of day,
In prayer she kneels!
"Dear Lord!" she saith, "To many a home
From wind and wave the wanderers come;
I only see the tossing foam
Of stranger keels.

"Blown out and in by summer gales,
The stately ships, with crowded sails,
And sailors leaning o'er their rails,
Before me glide;
They come, they go, but nevermore
Spice laden from the Indian shore,
I see his swift-winged Isidore
The waves divide.

"Oh Thou! with whom the night is day
And one the near and far away,
Look out on yon gray waste and say
Where lingers he.
Alive, perchance, on some lone beach
Or thirsty isle beyond the reach
Of man, he hears the mocking speech
Of wind and sea.

"O dead and cruel deep, reveal
The secret which thy waves conceal,
And, ye wild sea-birds, hither wheel
And tell your tale.
Let winds that tossed his raven hair
A message from my lost one bear—
Some thought of me, a last fond prayer
Or dying wail!

"Come, with your dreariest truth shut out
The fears that haunt me round about;
O God! I cannot bear this doubt
That stifles breath.
The worst is better than the dread;
Give me but leave to mourn my dead
Asleep in trust and hope instead
Of life in death!"

It might have been the evening breeze
That whispered in the garden trees;
It might have been the sound of seas
That rose and fell;
But with her heart, if not her ear,
The old loved voice she seemed to hear;
"I wait to meet thee; be of cheer.
For all is well!"

## JOHN BRIGHT AT HOME.

BY RICHARD J. HINTON.

Three months ago, I stood in the counting-room of a famous society of co-operators—The Rochdale (England) Equitable Pioneers. My work being done in that neighborhood, on the following day I expected to sail from Glasgow for home.

"I am sorry that I should be obliged to leave England without seeing your famous townsman," I remarked to William Cooper, the cashier of the association, whose courtesy in providing me with all needed information had been unremitting.

"You mean Mr. Bright, I suppose?" was the quick response. "He reached home this morning, and if you can remain over the next train, I'll go with you to his residence."

Finding, by reference to "Bradshaw," that I could return to Manchester in time to catch the night express to the North, I most gladly availed myself of the kindness. In a few minutes we were on our way up "Toad Lane," a corruption of "old," or, as the Lancashire dialect hath it, "Ode Lane." The original shop wherein the "Pioneers" began their famous movement is situated in this thoroughfare, at the head of which stands the handsome pile built for a central store by the society, and to attend the opening of which was the occasion of my visit here. With the co-operative movement the name of Rochdale is most beneficently associated. It may not be out of place to state, while we are on the way to Mr. Bright's residence, which is on the outskirts, though within the corporate limits of the town, that, in addition to the twenty-six stores, ten reading-rooms, and library belonging to the Rochdale co-operators, there are also one of the largest cotton mills in England, the finest flouring mill in Lancashire, besides the very handsome business block recently erected. The capital stock of those enterprises amounts to over a million and a half of dollars, while the annual sales and returns will reach to three-quarters of a million. All this is owned by mechanics and laborers. During our war the poor-rates of this place were nearly $700,000 less than any town of similar size in the manufacturing district. This was under the distress produced by the "cotton famine."

The streets of Rochdale present but little evidence of business activity. Few persons would suppose, unless informed of the fact, that nearly one-tenth of all the cotton grown in the world is here manufactured into cloth. These thoroughfares are narrow and steep, while the houses are generally low, old-fashioned, smoke-grimmed, ugly, and black. The chief evidence of the work done is the tall chimney-stacks and brick buildings, whose presence indicates the manufacturing activity.

My companion, a very intelligent gentleman, spoke in terms of warm enthusiasm of John Bright—denying, in an emphatic manner, the reports in circulation of his personal unpopularity. No gentleman, he said, was more popular either with his own work-people or the general body of his townsmen. Though the chief work of his life had been toward political reform, no good local work—social, educational, or moral—passed by without the assistance, both of purse and counsel, of the great orator.

The firm of "John Bright, Brothers" was established by the grandfather of the present partners. They were Quakers, as is Mr. Bright himself, though the plain address and formal speech has been discarded. The mills first used by them are still standing. They are small structures, compared to the goodly five-story building which is now used by the firm. There are three brothers in the business—John, Jacob, Richard. Jacob Bright will probably represent Manchester in the Reformed Parliament. Passing through the factory yard I was introduced to Richard Bright, whom Mr. Cooper characterized as the sportsman of the family. He looked the character, though there was quaint gravity mingled in the heartiness with which I was greeted when my nationality was named. Richard Bright is a tall, stalwart, farmer-looking man, of middle-age, whose tastes were, perhaps, indicated by the presence at his heels of a couple of fine hunting dogs. It may not be out of place to mention here that a nephew of the great orator, who was in the United States when the war began, served for three years as a private soldier in a Pennsylvania regiment. The fact will help to endear the name of Bright to the American people.

Mr. Cooper referred to the change that had taken place in the style and manner of Mr. Bright's oratorical efforts. When a young man he poured forth his words like a torrent. Metaphor and illustration overloaded his sentences. There was an electrifying impetuosity in his manner which consumed like a flame. Now there is a deliberateness in his utterance which carries more through conviction, or arouses more strenuous opposition than the hot and fast words of his early oratorical efforts. His sentences, said my friend, seem now to be compacted with thought, simply but powerfully uttered, and delivered with a restrained gravity which give a weight and momentum more wonderful than any impetuosity could do.

Mr. Cooper's admiration of the orator's "pluck," and of the wonderful tenacity with which he faced down opposition, reminded me of an incident told me in London by an active friend of our cause. Speaking of the Confederate agents' efforts to induce England to break the Southern blockade, under pretence of obtaining cotton wherewith to set in motion her idle mills, my informant described a great meeting held at St. James's Hall, London, in support of the Federal cause, at which Mr. Bright made one of his greatest efforts. On the next night, Lindsay's motion to recognize the Southern Confederacy was brought forward in the House of Commons. When John Bright rose to speak, all the gallery felt that there would be a vigorous attempt to break him down. It had been long since such annoyances had met him there, for he had proved himself master of the House. Beginning, in his usual impressive manner, "Mr. Speaker—Last night in St. James's Hall"—the last word was drowned in a clamor of cries, coughs, nondescript calls, scuffling of the feet, and the various and indescribable ways by which this "assembly of the finest gentlemen in Europe" express opposition or impatience. Scarcely had the fury spent itself than again Mr. Bright began: "Mr. Speaker—Last night in St. James' Hall!" The last word was lost, as before, in an increased clamor. As it subsided, Mr. Bright began once more. Again his voice was drowned by the outcry. Again and again he began, for a dozen times at least, until the opposition had spent itself in vain attempts to baffle him. He was as immovable as a granite rock against which the surf dashed itself in vain. During the whole of the scene Mr. Bright stood firm, neither raising his voice, nor showing in any other way recognition of the insolence. He then proceeded with his speech. At its triumphant close the Confederate cause was conceded to be dead, so far as English recognition was concerned.

But here we are at the entrance to the grounds surrounding Mr. Bright's residence. The house occupies the crown of a gentle rise, which gives it a wide view of town and country from its upper windows. There is nothing to distinguish it from the usual English homes of the well-to-do class. The grounds are large for a town residence, with the usual velvety, close-mown lawn, the fragrant and radiant flower-beds, and the dark masses of shrubbery. Walking up the broad, circular carriage road, glimpses are had of an ample kitchen-garden, fruit trees, and a conservatory. The entrance is by a handsome portico. The windows of the drawing-room are long, and open on the lawn. The "neat-handed Phillis," who answered our ring, recognizing Mr. Cooper, invited us to go round to the library. We did so, and, passing by the windows of the dining-room, we caught sight of Mr. Bright perusing the morning paper.

The room into which we were shown was of moderate size, plainly but handsomely furnished with a dark oak suite. One side was occupied by a well-filled book-case, and the others were hung with fine engravings, mostly portraits, conspicuous among which was an artist's proof of Marshall's "Abraham Lincoln." Near the window was a substantial library-desk, and behind that a fine marble bust of the great orator himself. Mr. Bright entered in a few moments, greeted Mr. Cooper cordially, and welcomed myself after the proper introduction. Offering an apology for intruding upon him so early after his return from Scotland, Mr. Bright was pleased to say that my letters were a sufficient welcome.

John Bright looks a hale fifty-five years. In stature he is about the height of Henry Ward Beecher, though considerably stouter. He has a face of the finest English type, full and open, with gray side-whisker, and a healthy, ruddy, complexion. The mouth, chin and lower jaw, express great firmness and vigor. The nose is full, nostrils broad, while the space is broad between the clear, full, gray eyes, which appear capable of great expression. In repose they are mild and kindly. Both brow and head are broad, full and arched high in the coronal region. The whole figure is cast in a massive mould. He looks the orator and leader of men, even when silent; and there is in his presence itself a pervading sense of power. His manner is pleasant, grave and cordial, yet not unmixed with a dash of *haut-ur* and brusqueness that one can readily trace to his business and public life. The brusqueness is that of a busy man, while the *hauteur* is the natural consequence of contests in which he is not only leader, but himself so vital an element.

The conversation was chiefly directed at first to Mr. Cooper, whom he congratulated upon the success attendant upon the recent co-operative celebration. Referring to Hon. Thomas Hughes's address, Mr. Bright said,

"I cannot agree with all the criticism made by Mr. Hughes as to the conduct and duty of employers, nor do I agree fully with the claim he makes for the 'Industrial Partnership' idea."

The last allusion refers to the more recent phase of English co-operation, by which it is proposed that all profits over a fixed per cent. shall be divided in equal parts between labor and capital; thus, in enterprises where conjoint efforts bring profitable results, recognizing labor as properly entitled to share in such results. This is the gist of the claim made for labor, by trades unionists, and writers and thinkers, like Prof. Beesley, J. M. Ludlow, Frederic Harrison, Thomas Hughes, Vansittart Neale, and others of that school.

"Mr. Hughes," said Mr. Bright, "thinks that new profits will be made by the increased attention workmen give under the stimulus of the proposed bonus. This seems to me to be chimerical. How can more be gained, Cooper, in our factories, where the work is performed by machinery, and the men, in the main, only see to its operation? If saving is to be effected in such establishments, it can only be, it seems to me, by increased attention to markets, and the purchase and sale of raw material and manufactured goods. I believe that employers generally give wages equal to what is done, and there is no wrong in expecting that the hands shall do all they can in return. It is themselves, and not the masters, who do wrong if they fail in this. The 'now profits' Mr. Hughes speaks of will be evidence that labor has not done its whole duty. What is to be done in such cases as ours, for instance? If we lose £1,000 per month, as at present, are we able to pay bonus?"

Mr. Cooper suggested that under such circumstances the laborer would not expect "bonus;" but that, on the contrary, having realized the benefit of good times by the new system, they would be found quite ready to share with the capitalist the difficulties of a bad period. Besides, the industrial partnerships proposed to do as all well-regulated enterprises now did—prepare for bad trade by reserving some of the results of good seasons for that purpose.

Mr. Bright said he was glad to see all these enterprises tried. They educated the people, as the Pioneers' movement had done, in habits of thrift and forethought. This he regarded as their greatest benefit. His criticism was only meant for those who tried to make co-operation the cure for all evils here, thus diverting, to some extent, attention from the great work of political reform.

The conversation then turned on American affairs. The fact of my representing the *Tribune* at the co-operative conference, naturally suggested inquiry as to Mr. Greeley, and some allusion to his opinions. Of course Mr. Bright controverted the protectionist views of the veteran editor, and with a touch of irony, remarked that were he "an American free-trader, he should be very glad to have Mr. Greeley defend the opposite side. The arguments he uses seem very absurd to me." Mr. Bright paid a very eulogistic compliment to Mr. Greeley's historical work—"The American Conflict"—characterising it as the most comprehensive, impartial and satisfactory one on its topic that he had ever read.

During the next hour Mr. Bright questioned me closely and incisively upon American affairs, showing a remarkable degree of knowledge of them. This was true not only of the main propositions, but of the details involved in the account I gave of the condition of the South, based as it was on recent and extended personal observation. In response to a remark of mine as to the eagerness with which the freed people sought education, Mr. Bright said he had been greatly interested in the accounts he had read of this spirit, and thought that the truest heroism our war had given opportunity to display, was exhibited by the noble women, who in such numbers, had left their homes and gone to teach the emancipated slaves. He agreed fully with the Republican plan of reconstruction, considering, he said, that Congress was compelled, by the conduct of Mr. Johnson, to adopt temporary military governments. He hoped that at the earliest possible period, all disfranchisement would be removed. "Mr. Johnson," said Mr. Bright, "it is evident, is nothing more than an old-school Southern politician, with unconquerable prejudices against New England, or the Yankees, as you would say, and an intense sectional pride. His hatred of the Puritan idea, or of New England thought, is much stronger than his love of the union. He is only a States-Right Democrat—that, and nothing more nor less. There seems to me some danger of another outbreak, if your Northern elections should be adverse to the Republican party. Mr. Johnson's administration has encouraged the Rebel spirit, which may be still further inflamed if their Democratic friends succeed in those States where elections are pending. But you need not fear any serious trouble, and it is certain that no friend of America here believes there is reason to anticipate permanent disorder. Your enemies would be glad to see such results, but the success of your Republic has made Democracy respectable in Europe. Nothing succeeds, you know, like success."

Of course this was not said continuously, but is the substance of the conversation, as my own opinions, given in response to questions, are of no consequence in this relation.

Reference was made to impeachment. Mr. Bright inquired closely as to what the probabilities were of its being attempted. He seemed to doubt the wisdom of the effort, saying that impeachment was a relic of the past, laid away, he thought, for good in England. In response to a remark of mine that the removal of Mr. Stanton and Gen. Sheridan, had, as it seemed then, increased the probability of its being attempted, Mr. Bright said, "I am sorry to hear it. The remedy seems worse than the disease. You can bear Mr. Johnson better than that. Your Republicans must be very prudent, and be sure to have the best grounds for such an attempt, as in the event of any disorder arising therefrom, it will be said you were the aggressors. The aggressor is always odious."

Mr. Bright asked about reports in circulation as to alleged corruption and personal bad conduct on the part of the President, and he expressed, very strongly, his regret, saying that he "had hoped the Old World governments had had a monopoly of such conduct and crimes." The words were accompanied with a gesture of the hands which gave added significance to the scorn that lingered in his voice.

"Soon after Mr. Johnson was inaugurated," he said, "I received a letter from Senator Sumner, giving it as his opinion that public sentiment in America would demand the trial, conviction and execution of some of the rebel leaders for treason. This was at the time Mr. Johnson was delivering denunciatory speeches against the rebels. In replying to Mr. Sumner, I expressed my great regret at what he had written. The infliction of death for a political offence, even as heinous as this one, would mar the Republic's good fame. That the people should demand justice was natural, and I suggested that, in order to vindicate public morality, the President of the United States should issue a proclamation solemnly setting forth the facts of the rebellion; what slight causes its movers had for their attempt; giving the reasons they themselves urged, as in the words of Alexander H. Stephens; then enumerating the cost of the war in money, lives, private and public desolation; with the crimes against international obligations and laws of war of which the Confederacy had confessedly been guilty; and closing the list with the last deed of one of its sympathizers—the assassination of Mr. Lincoln—declare that for all these acts the rebel leaders had more than deserved death, but that the Republic, too magnanimous and too wise to imitate them in vindictiveness and cruelty, doomed to perpetual exile those only who should be named, never more to be recognized as citizens of the land they had betrayed and the Republic they had attempted to destroy. Then should have followed a list of those thus exiled, which ought to have embraced all who had held high office in the Union before the war, as members of Congress, of the Cabinet, officers of the Army and Navy, Governors of States, etc., or in the Confederacy when it began and during its progress. This list should have included all who were known to have been guilty of acts of cruelty to the wounded or to prisoners."*

Mr. Bright's statement interested me exceedingly. I wrote this conversation out as soon as I got to Manchester, and am confident of having retained all the essential ideas and much of the language he used.

A reference was made to the relations of England and the United States. Mr. Bright most earnestly expressed his hope that they might continue to be of the most friendly character. Any disturbance of that friendship would be a very serious blow to the Liberal cause in Great Britain. Mr. Seward's latest dispatch to Minister Adams about the "Alabama" claims, in reply to Lord Stanley, Mr. Bright characterized as "disingenuous." He thought that Mr. Seward wanted to keep the question an open one during the ensuing Presidential canvass, in order, by the bait of possible trouble with England, to control the Irish-American vote. He had no doubt that the "Alabama" claims would be amicably settled, and in our favor. He did not seem to agree with Mr. Seward's idea that England's early proclamation of neutrality (though an unfriendly act) entitled the United States to a claim for damages thereon. He had heard that Mr. Sumner agreed with Mr. Seward, and hoped this was not true.

An allusion was incidentally made to Canada, from which I gathered that Mr. Bright believed it would gravitate toward us, and that he thought no one in England would regret it. He spoke of our representative at St. James with great respect and admiration, declaring we were fortunate in having a gentleman of such excellent abilities there at the present time.

Mr. Bright spoke in very respectful and appreciative terms of the late Sir Frederick Bruce, and, with reference to the qualifications needed for his successor, asked as to the late minister's standing in Washington. I was able to assure him, from personal observation, that the English Ambassador had a more cordial understanding with our leading public men, both in and out of Congress, than was the case with any other of the foreign Ministers resident at the national capital.

Asking Mr. Bright when he intended to visit the United States, and assuring him that no heartier or more affectionate welcome would or could be given a public man than he would receive, he said that it had long been his desire to visit us, but that the work before him in England would probably prevent the desire being fulfilled. If he had the opportunity, and should not avail himself of it, he modestly said, it would be because of the ovations that might be pressed upon him. He gave expression to a cordial wish that Mr. Wendell Phillips might soon visit England, declaring that his voice and presence there would greatly aid, not only a clearer understanding of American issues, but materially advance the cause of political liberty there. He spoke in terms of the warmest admiration of the eloquence, genius, and high moral value of Mr. Phillips's services as orator and teacher, pronouncing him as second, in this view, to no American living.

When we finally rose to take leave, Mr. Bright called my attention to the portraits which hung in the room. That of Mr. Lincoln, by Marshall, was a proof, presented by the artist himself. Above it was hung a fine engraved portrait of George Washington, presented to Mr. Bright, as the inscription stated, by the Rev. Mr. Everett, an elderly American gentleman resident in London, after the great speech in St. James Hall, to which I have already made allusion.

On one side of the fireplace hung a fine line engraving of Franklin, and on the other side was framed and suspended an autograph of George Washington, being a pass given to some one to go through the American lines at the Highlands of New York. It bears date at Newburg, I think. The portraits named were, I believe, the only ones of public persons in the room, and this fact, as well as the manner in which Mr. Bright referred to them, was a strong additional proof of the earnest admiration he feels for our institutions, as well of the sincerity of the spirit in which he works for the amelioration of the abuses that afflict the great Empire of which he is one of the most renowned citizens.

* Quite recently I mentioned this to Mr. Sumner. He remembers receiving the letter, and said that some time before he had had one of a similar tenor from Richard Cobden, which letter Mr. Sumner read to Mr. Lincoln, himself endorsing the proposition it contained. Mr. Lincoln agreed with the general idea, and thought it would be desirable to thus exile the Southern leaders.

Colored Stars.—If a brilliant star be observed when near the horizon, it will be seen to present the beautiful phenomenon of "colored scintillation." The colors thus exhibited exceed in purity even those seen in the solar spectrum or in the rainbow. By comparison with them the light which flashes from the ruby, the emerald, the sapphire, or the topaz, appears dull and almost earthy. There are four or five stars which present this phenomenon with charming distinctness. The brilliant Vega, in the constellation Lyra, which rarely sets in our latitude, is one of these. At midnight in Winter, and earlier with the approach of Spring, this splendid blue-steel star may be seen as it skirts the southern horizon, scintillating with red, blue and emerald light. Arcturus twinkles yet more brilliantly down toward the northeast in our Spring evenings. Capella is another noble scintillator, seen low down toward the moon during the Summer nights. But these, though they are the most brilliant northern stars, yet shine with a splendor far inferior to that of Sirius, the famous dog-star. No one can mistake this noble orb as it rises above the southern horizon in our Winter months. The vivid colors exhibited by Sirius as it scintillates have afforded a favorite image to the poets. Homer compares the celestial light which gleamed from the shield and helmet of Diomed to the rays of "Sirius, the star of Autumn," which "shines with a peculiar brilliancy when laved by ocean's waves," and, to pass at once from the father of poetry to our greatest modern poet, we find in Tennyson's "Princess" the same language, where he says of Arac and his brothers,

"As the fiery Sirius alters hue,
And bickers into red and emerald, shone
Their morions, washed with morning, as they came."

It is difficult to persuade oneself that these ever-changing tints do not really belong to the stars. But there is now no doubt that they are caused by our own atmosphere. Unequally warm, unequally dense, and unequally moist in its various strata, the air transmits irregularly those colored rays which together produce the light of a star. Now one color prevails over the rest, and now another, so that the star appears to change color. But it is only low down toward the horizon that these changes take place to their full extent. In the tropics, where the air is more uniform in texture, so to speak, the stars do not scintillate unless they are quite close to the horizon, "a circumstance," says Humboldt, "which gives a peculiarly calm and serene character to the celestial depths in those countries."—*Frazer's Magazine.*

## IN THE TWILIGHT.

BY J. R. LOWELL.

Men say the sullen instrument
That from the master's bow,
With pangs of joy or woe,
Feels music's soul through every fibre sent,
Whispers the ravished strings
More than he knew or meant.
Old summers in its memory glow;
The secrets of the wind it sings,
It hears the April loosened springs,
And mixes with its mood
All it learned when it stood
In the murmurous pine wood
Long ago!

The magical moonlight then
Steeped every bow and cone;
The roar of the brook in the glen
Came dim from the distance blown;
The wind through its glooms sang low,
And it swayed to and fro,
Full of dreams, as it stood
In the wonderful wood
Long ago!

O my life, have we not had seasons
That only said live and rejoice?
That asked not for causes and reasons,
But made us all feeling and voice?
When we went with the winds in their blowing,
When nature and we were peers,
And our days seemed to share in the flowing
Of the inexhaustible years?
Have we not from the earth drawn juices
Too fine for earth's sordid uses?
Have I heard, have I seen,
All I feel and I know?
Doth my heart overween?
Or could it have been
Long ago?

Sometimes a breath floats by me,
An odor from Dreamland sent,
That makes the ghost seem nigh me
Of a splendor that came and went—
Of a life lived somewhere, I know not
In what diviner sphere—
Of memories that stay not and go not,
Like music heard once by an ear
That cannot forget or reclaim it—
A something so shy, it would shame it
To make it a show;
A something too vague, could I name it,
For others to know;
As if I had lived it or dreamed it,
As if I had acted or schemed it,
Long ago.

And yet, could I live it over,
This life that stirs in my brain—
Could I be both maiden and lover,
Moon and tide, bee and clover,
As I seem to have been, once again—
Could I but speak it and show it,
This pleasure more sharp than pain
That baffles and lures me so—
The world should not lack a poet,
Such as it had in the ages glad,
Long ago.

## WRITING MACHINE FOR THE BLIND.

A contributor to *Chambers's Journal*, a lady who had a blind husband, gives the following account of a writing machine she contrived for him:

One day, turning over the pages of a magazine, I saw a short notice of Prescott, the historian, in which it was stated that he wrote his celebrated histories by means of a frame with wires intersected, using instead of a pen, an agate style. By its aid, he could write with great rapidity, as the use of ink was not required, and as he threw the sheets on the ground when written, his secretary had merely to place them in the order of their numbers. On this hint, I soon acted; and by the aid of a clever workman, constructed an inexpensive but most handy little machine, which was our companion in all our wanderings, and by whose aid many a sheet was covered with manuscript.

As my earnest wish in this short notice is to benefit those who, like me, have the unspeakable sorrow of seeing a beloved companion bereft of sight, and doomed not only to darkness, but also to the misery of inaction, I will speak of the little machine so minutely, that I think even a village workman might construct one from the description.

We had two—one for note paper, which was found inconvenient for common use, as the finger required to be shifted rather often. The other was for post, which must, however, be cut to fit the frame. This frame is nine inches long, and seven and a half wide, the margin itself an inch and a quarter, or thereabouts. Thirteen brass wires are intersected, but not drawn so tightly, as by their yielding it gives room for the long letters. Next to the wires comes a sheet of carbonized paper, such as is used in warehouses for their passbooks; then a few sheets of good post, firmly fixed into the frame by a piece of wood or tin; this is fastened by a small button, or sliding bit of wood, in the same manner as the picture slates, a favorite toy with children. To a blind person of average ability, the fixing of this little machine constitutes one of its greatest charms; and as the mind, when thrown on its own resources by the loss of all outward attractions, generally expands, many would turn to literary pursuits, who, had their sight remained unimpaired, would have been immersed in the bustle of business.

The frame is on the table, the carbonized paper placed within, the sheets of post next, and then the piece of wood firmly fixed in and fastened; then comes the letter or manuscript to be written, and this only requires a little care. The right hand holds the style, which we found most suitably made of agate, and costing, at any bookseller's, half a crown; the forefinger of the left hand keeps count of the number of wires written; and should any interruption take place, the writer has only to count, and remember the number of lines which he has written, and it is very seldom that one line obliterates another. Not unless after the lapse of some days in resuming the work does the memory prove treacherous. We may hope, however, that there are few blind persons but what have some kind friend or companion to assist and comfort them, and it is easy for that friend to look over the manuscript. This was not required by my husband, whose correctness was such, even as to punctuation, that the printer seldom made any mistakes in the copy. As the mere comfort of being able to write a letter to a friend is a pleasure to everybody, I feel certain, if a trial of the machine I describe were made, the blessing to the educated blind would be great indeed.

Private Houses at Damascus.—From the mosque, our party went to see the houses of the French and English Consuls, as also of several Jews and Moslems. It is impossible to conceive anything more beautiful or more luxurious. They are all of the same type. Emerging from dirty long lanes, and passing through low insignificant doorways, you come suddenly into a court paved with marble, with a fountain in the centre, shaded by oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and other exotics, beautiful roses (of the kind called in England the "monthly cluster," a highly-scented one, from which the attar is made), jasmine, and other flowers. From this court opens out a succession of rooms such as are described in the *Arabian Nights*, the walls covered with mosaic, the ceilings of wood exquisitely carved in the most delicate Saracenic patterns, and equally exquisitely colored with that peculiar blending of shades none but Orientals understand. In the centre is again a fountain, and at each end of the room a raised divan covered with beautiful Persian carpets, the windows latticed and pierced in the most delicate patterns; beautiful china in niches, and other Oriental treasures, enameled narghilehs (pipe-holders), engraved bowls of silver and platina, into which divers patterns and passages of the Koran are elaborately worked, filigree coffee cups all glistening with jewels. Such are the houses of the English and French Consuls, and such, in a greater or less degree, is the Oriental idea of perfect luxury.—*Cradle Lands, by Lady Herbert.*

Success Makes the Hero.—Win in the lottery and you are a clever man, for he who triumphs is revered. All you want is to be born under a fortunate star. Have luck and you will have the rest; be fortunate and you will be thought a great man; leaving out five or six immense exceptions, which form the lustre of an age, contemporary admiration is blear-eyedness. Gilding is gold, and it does you no harm to be any one so long as you are the parvenu. The mob is an old Narcissus, adorning itself and applauding the mob. That enormous faculty by which a man is a Moses, Æschylus, Dante, Michael Angelo, or Napoleon, the multitude decrees broadcast and by acclamation to any one who obtains his object, no matter in what. Let a notary transfigure himself into a deputy; a false Corneille produce Tiridates; an eunuch contrive to possess a harem; a military Prudhomme accidentally gain the decisive battle of an age; an apothecary invent cardboard soles for the army of the Sambre et Meuse, and make out of the cardboard sold for leather an income of 400,000 francs a year; a pedler espouse usury and put it to bed with seven or eight millions, of which he is the father and she the mother; a preacher become a bishop by his nasal twang; let the steward of a good family be so rich on leaving service that he is made chancellor of the exchequer—and men will call it genius, in the same way as they call Mousqueton's face beauty and Claude's mein majesty. They confound with the constellations of profundity, the stars which the duck's feet makes in the soft mud of the pond.—*Victor Hugo.*

## CONDITION OF VESUVIUS.

The Naples correspondent of the London *Times* writes under date of the 8th instant:

"The disaster in Santa Lucia has so completely absorbed our attention for the last fortnight, that the principal agent in causing the misfortune has excited little notice, and yet Vesuvius, in spite of Reuter's intelligence that it had fallen, has been almost as active and brilliant as at the commencement of its eruption. Upon the night of the 21st January the roarings of the mountain were again heard most distinctly in Naples. Slight shocks of earthquake occurred on several successive nights, which were felt very sensibly in Naples, and the lava, which was more copious, unable any longer to enter the passage through which it had hitherto burrowed, had to commence its course over the indurated bed. For some time it continued towards the right, as seen from Naples, and shortly after descended on the left, in the direction of the Observatory.

"As day after day passed on, the instruments showed an increase of magnetic agitation; the lava flowed much more copiously, until, on the night of the 28th of January the intensity and extent of the eruption were greater than they had been for some time. The whole of the upper part of the mountain, from the summit to the base of the cone, was covered with red-hot lava, presenting a most stupendous spectacle, and attracting a crowd of visitors, among whom were the Duke and Duchess of Aosta. I note this night in particular, for it was that on which the great calamity befell Santa Lucia. It corresponded with the increased action of the mountain, and though many who have been unconscious of them may be sceptical of the frequent recurrence of earthquakes they are no less a fact, unless science has erred and many who have felt them have been mistaken.

"On the 3d of February there was an interval of comparative repose; the lava ran with less vivacity, and the instruments were calmer. But on the next day there was a considerable increase. The cone began to mutter, and the activity of the sismograph indicated that yet greater quantities of lava were to be thrown out. Between the 5th and 6th there were three shocks of earthquake, and a gentleman who ascended the cone half way up told me that the ground trembled beneath him. On these nights the visitors had the choice of two roads; for while one stream ran towards the Piano delle Ginestre, another pursued the direction of Crocelle, to which spot the image of St. Januarius will be borne in a month or two, as is the annual custom. The spectacle increased in grandeur to the 6th and 7th instant. The thunders of the cone were stronger—so strong, indeed, as to shake the windows of Torre del Greco, while slight shocks of earthquake were registered by the sismograph, and so the state of the mountain continues at the present moment. With the cessation of the heavy rains of the latter part of January the *fumarole* (smoke holes) of the lava have again been decorated with white, yellow and green sublimates, in which, besides common salt, copper and lead predominate. You may imagine, therefore, the attractions which the mountain presents. Crowds visit it every night, for Naples is full of visitors, and the splendid weather which has set in, and the moon which shines above us almost as brilliant as your sun, make the trip to Vesuvius a most agreeable excursion."

A Successful Burglar Trap.—A Philadelphia paper tells, or rather lets the hero of the incident tell, of a German watch-maker in that city who, hearing of the frequent burglaries, concluded to fortify his store against the gentry who work with skeleton keys and crowbars. The watchmaker said:

"I hear much tings apout te purglars all a'while; hears they breaks stores into 'em very much. Vell, I tinks I vixes 'em, so that the next time that they goomes to my stores, by tam, they no gum. I puys a pig horse bistel, and I fastens it to de floor, mit de moozle pointin' to de door. So den I runs a string from de drigger up mit der vall and down mit der door, so ven Mr. Purglar opens himself mit der door, vy, if he ploze de tam prains out of de bistel, vy, den you see I can't help it, don't it? That's vot I say. Last night I left de door pointing at de moozle of de bistel mit two bullets in it, unt goes out to drink some lager mit ter boys. I sometimes drinks too much lager. Vell, I can't help it. I bores myself into more ash twenty sixteen klass lager, unt then I koes home. Ven I pass mine store I dinks I better ash look in unt see if nothing pese all right. That is right, don't it? If it don't, I ain't can't help it. Vell, mit so many klasses of me in der lager, I forget apout der hoss bistel unt ter door, pointin' der moozle, unt ven I makes open mit ter door, bang! by tam, I joost gets a pullet mit mine elbow unt anoder pullet gets mine hat through it all the vile. Vost I scart? Vell, if I vos I can't help it. You'd be scart yourself, ain't it? I joost throw away the hoss bistle, unt I never sets no more traps for burglars so long as I can't help it. So!"


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